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RESEARCHES

IN

SOUTH AFRICA;

ILLUSTRATING THE

CIVIL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION

OF

THE NATIVE TRIBES:

INCLUDING

JOURNALS OF THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN THE INTERIOR;

TOGETHER WITH

DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS, EXHIBITING THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY IN PROMOTING CIVILIZATION.

BY

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1653

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PREFACE.

If there be any truth in the remark of Dean Swift, that the man who makes three blades of grass grow where only two grew before deserves well of his country, the faithful and able missionary may be allowed to occupy a chief seat among the friends and benefactors of the human race. His labours smooth the way for the triumph of science; increase the produce of the earth, by multiplying the hands employed in its cultivation; and create new demands for the manufactures of his own country, while he is lessening the miseries of his fellow-creatures, elevating savages and barbarians to a state of civilization, and cheering them with the hope of a life to come.

Man, in his individual and collective capacity, is so constituted, that no improvement can take place in any part of the one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole man, and over the whole frame of society. The thorough knowledge of one science requires a general acquaintance with many others. With the improvements of science, the arts and manufactures of a country may be expected to keep pace. The late discoveries in chemistry, for instance, have diffused their influence and their energies over every depart-

ment of science, from its general principles to its most minute details, from the lofty speculations of the philosopher to the humble operations of the mechanic.

It is the same as it respects the progress of genuine religion. With the Reformation arose a thirst for knowledge in general; and to the strength of that desire may be traced the extension of printing, the resurrection of genius, the establishment of schools, the multiplication of books, and the brightest period in the annals of Europe. Without a motive, a thirst for knowledge could not have existed; without printing, that desire could not have been gratified; without schools, education could have never become common; and without a capacity to read, printing would have been a useless discovery, and genius would have languished for want of encouragement, or perished for want of bread. Thus the extension of printing, the establishment of schools, the general diffusion of knowledge, the revival of literature, and the late discoveries in science, may all be viewed as springing from the Reformation.

The effects of missions are not to be confined to what constitutes their principal object. The exertions made to accomplish that object bring innumerable advantages, connected with the improvement of the world, in their train. The great extension of literature in India,—the rapid multiplication of books in that interesting portion of the globe,—the translations going on in the various languages of that country,—the vast increase of schools for the instruction of the natives,—

the erection of a religious establishment,—the spirit of inquiry amongst the natives,—the easy access now afforded us to the literature of the East,—have all sprung from the labours of missionaries.

With the translation of the Scriptures into the languages and dialects of a kingdom, come translators, grammars, lexicons, type-founders, and printers, with all their literary and scientific apparatus. The literature of a country is brought into requisition; criticism and knowledge begin to circulate; and the collision of mind, which arises from opposition of sentiment, calls the slumbering energies of a nation into exercise. Every new translation of the Scriptures into a modern language provokes comparison; the original languages are cultivated to dissipate the doubts which may be excited by the discrepancies of translators; the student of sacred literature, who, perhaps, in the commencement of his pursuits, thought of nothing but correcting a false translation, or making a new one, finds that there is no species of knowledge, whether in science or literature, in the history of men or manners, which may not be useful to him in his great object. Knowledge always desires increase; it is like fire, which must first be kindled by some external agent, but which will afterwards propagate itself in every direction.

While our missionaries, beyond the borders of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, are everywhere scattering the seeds of civilization, social order, and happiness, they are, by the most unexceptionable

means, extending British interests, British influence, and the British empire.

Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way; their dependence upon the colony is increased by the creation of artificial wants; confidence is restored; intercourse with the colony is established; industry, trade, and agriculture spring up; and every genuine convert from among them made to the Christian religion becomes the ally and friend of the colonial government. The materials of our conquests, made in this way, will bear examination. Triumphs gained by such weapons occasion no tears, and present no disgusting details: they are the triumphs of reason over ignorance, of civilization over barbarism, and of benevolence over cruelty and oppression.

It may be an easy thing for a theoretical European, looking at one of our missionary institutions, to imagine and assert that the work might have been accomplished by other means. Philosophers and projectors had a hundred and fifty years to try their skill upon the Hottentots before our missions commenced, and what was done?—nothing! When the missions began in South Africa, we found the poor natives as far from a state of civilization, as they were at the first introduction of Europeans among them. They were deprived of their country; from a state of independence they were reduced to the miseries of slavery; their herds of cattle followed their lands and passed over into the hands of their intrusive neighbours; and all they had gained in

return for these sacrifices, were a few beads, tobacco, and spirits, and a number of vices unknown to them in their former ignorance.

Dr. Colquhoun says, the Hottentots are a poor dejected harmless race, evidently deficient in memory. Of the Bushmen, the same respectable writer remarks, that they are so extremely savage and ferocious, that they are incapable of being civilized. Gibbon, speaking of the same people, says that they seem to be the connecting link between the rational and the irrational creation. On the ground of such statements, an able and distinguished writer of the present age remarks, in reference to attempts said to have been made to civilize the natives of South Africa, "That the experiment has been tried with the Hottentots, whom we might reasonably expect to be disgusted with their domestic misery, both by the East India Company and by individuals, but they have never been persuaded to buy comfort at the expense of independence, which has endeared to them the coarse manner of life to which they have been accustomed *".

It is acknowledged that attempts had been made by the East India Company, and by individuals, to civilize the Hottentots, and that these attempts had completely failed. From this failure, the conclusion has been drawn, that the Hottentots are weak in intellect, almost devoid of memory, and that the Bushmen are incapable of civilization. How far these conclusions are just, will be seen in the perusal of these volumes.

* Sumner on the *Records of the Creation.*

The object proposed in this work will, I hope, be deemed a sufficient apology for not having taken more notice of the useful labours of the Moravian, the Glasgow, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in South Africa. In laying before the public the oppressions of the native tribes, with a view to obtain for them the protection of the British Government, for reasons which must be satisfactory to the friends of the different missionary societies in this country, and to their worthy agents in Africa, I have found it necessary to confine the proofs of my allegations to facts and documents in my own possession, and to what has come under my own observation. If any blame is to be incurred by the manner in which I have prosecuted my labours in this holy cause, I have resolved that that blame shall attach to no one but myself; and if it shall please Providence to crown them with success, the labourers of other societies, in common with those of that society to which I belong, will have the same cause for thankfulness.

I view the different missionary societies, now engaged in this great work, as so many divisions of the same army; and however we may be distinguished by a difference in our uniforms, and by the names of our respective bodies, it is the standard of the cross under which we fight, and the success of one is the success of all. The Christian missionary should be of no sect; and it should not be known by his spirit among the heathen, nor among those engaged with him in the same service, to what denomination he belongs. He labours for the

conversion of the heathen to a common christianity, not to the peculiarities of any particular party, and to bring them into the fellowship of the Christian church, without caring to what division of it they may belong. Having brought them into the fold of Christ, he leaves to pastors and teachers to say in what pens or partitions they shall be inclosed, within the common pale or fence, intent to collect those of whom the great shepherd says, "other sheep have I which are not of this fold, them also I must bring in."

My object in the composition of these pages has not been to expose men, but measures; and in preparing them for the press, I have studied, as much as possible, to divest myself of all personal feelings. My motto, in all my labours in this cause, has uniformly been, I shall "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." The necessity of bringing forward the names of so many individuals in connexion with the disclosures made in these volumes, has been to me the most painful part of the task imposed upon me in the present undertaking. "Surely, to every good and peaceable man, it must, in nature, needs be a hateful thing to be a displeaser and molester of thousands; much rather would it like him, doubtless, to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind; but that they resist and oppose their own happiness *."

We shall perhaps be told, that such evils should

* Milton.

be left to be corrected by the progress of society; but long and painful experience has taught us, that the liberties we ask for an oppressed people do not fall into their lap like fruit from a tree when it is ripe, and never can be obtained from the privileged classes, except by the interference of a stronger power than that employed to keep them in a state of subjugation. Present gain is always preferred to that which is remote and contingent only, and the voice of humanity has little chance of being heard amidst the clamour of passion and selfishness.

The present lieutenant-governor of the Cape has displayed a liberal spirit towards the missions; but while things remain in their present state, no permanent relief is to be hoped for, in opposition to the tide of prejudice and interest which the highest authority in the colony will have to oppose in endeavouring to defend the natives. The governor of such a colony as the Cape of Good Hope, must always be dependent, for the information he receives respecting the Aborigines, upon those in official situations, and immediately about his person; and his informers being interested persons, or connected with such, it is extremely difficult for him to get at the truth of their situation, or to resist the tendency of the conversation of their enemies, to prejudice his mind against them, and against all plans proposed for their improvement. The greatest humanity and even talents in a governor are not always proof against unjust insinuations, caricatures, and calumnies invented to disparage the natives. While he remains in Cape Town, he has no means of obtaining correct information re-

specting them; and, if he travels over the country himself, the liability he is under to be imposed upon, is not lessened. In the first instance he is deceived by the representations of others only; in the second, he becomes himself a party in the deceit.

A governor leaves Cape Town to visit the interior. Preparations are made for weeks previous to this journey. His intentions are announced in the Gazette; notices are sent to the local magistrates to have relays of horses ready on different parts of the road for his service; he spends a day or two at the seats of the chief magistrates of the districts through which he passes; he sees the local authorities and the farmers, converses with them, receives their petitions, and hears their complaints. The opgaaf (taxes), and the want of labourers, form the largest items in the list of grievances. The landdrosts, and clerks, and farmers, have all the same views respecting the Hottentots and other Aborigines; they consider them as the absolute property of the colonists, and as much made for their use as their cattle and sheep; thus, while the governor hears nothing but what is prejudicial to the Aborigines, and to every scheme devised for their benefit, he enters into all the measures recommended to him the more readily, because, ignorant of the arts which have been practised upon him, he does it under the false impression that he has seen everything with his own eyes, and heard everything with his own ears.

The subject of the present volumes, renders it necessary that something should be said in this place of the

circumstances in which they originated, and of the object proposed by their publication. The sufferings of the natives under the Dutch government, have been fully depicted by Mr. Barrow, but it did not begin to be suspected in England, till lately, how little their condition has been improved by the change of masters they experienced when the English took possession of the Cape. It seems to have been too easily taken for granted, that because we could declaim against Dutch inhumanity, and because the natives in the first instance viewed our conquest of the colony as a deliverance, that all their early expectations had been realized, and that their oppressions had passed away with the power of their former masters. Such were the impressions, at least, under which I arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1819, and such were the feelings I endeavoured to cherish, till I could no longer retain them.

During my first journey into the interior of the country, in 1819, many facts came under my observation at variance with the favourable opinion I had formed of the condition of the natives; but the explanations I received from the local authorities of the districts, where inquiries were made, led me to suppose that they arose out of the old habits of the people which our government had not been able to correct; but that, nevertheless, the work of amelioration was going forward, and that in a few more years there would be no grounds for further complaint.

When I had occasion to submit the grievances of the people at our institutions, to the colonial government, the

facts were denied by the local authorities, against whom the complaints were made. I was presented with government proclamations, declaring the Hottentots to be a free people, and declaring at the same time that their improvement and happiness had always been a favourite object with the colonial government. And there was so much address displayed in the management of the whole system, that it might have continued to operate for an unlimited time, had it not been for the collision occasioned by its coming in contact with our missionary institutions, and for the obstinacy which refused to lessen the friction till the sparks burst into flames.

To account for the manner in which the oppressions of the natives have been increased of late years, it will be necessary to take into consideration the change which has taken place in their relative value as labourers, by the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807. While slaves could be got for a trifle, by the vessels engaged in this trade touching at the Cape, the natives were not of much importance to the colonists, and many of them in those districts in which slaves were numerous, were allowed to live after their ancient manner. In the more remote and thinly-inhabited districts of the colony, in which there were few slaves, and in which the restraints of law and government were scarcely felt, the natives were more dreaded, and, therefore, more hated and oppressed. Unable longer to endure their sufferings, they at last took up arms against their oppressors, and drove them before them

till they were met by the English troops in the district of George.

The natives looking upon the English as their friends, and the colonists in those districts being then very much disaffected to the new government, this much injured race obtained some share of favour and protection. It was among the people that had been engaged in this insurrection against the farmers, that Dr. Vanderkemp began his labours; and the other missionary stations of the London Missionary Society within the colony, sprang out of Bethelsdorp, or were composed of the small remnants of the Hottentots who had been still left in their native state.

The missions were never popular among the colonists in general; but while the colonists could obtain a sufficient supply of labourers at a low price, the missionaries were allowed to proceed in their efforts to improve the people. If the missionaries were scowled upon by many of the white population, and they were called "Hottentot predicants" (ministers), by way of contempt; and if some of the local authorities oppressed them, others afforded them countenance, and they had some favour shown them by the colonial government. But as the scarcity of servants began gradually to be more felt, and the local authorities of the districts began to feel the importance of the patronage which the power they had assumed over the labour of the natives afforded them, the people collected and improved at our missionary stations began to be regarded with a rapacious eye; and the final

destruction of these institutions became a favourite object with an influential part of the community. Colonel Collins, who visited the interior of the colony, and the native tribes on its frontiers, as a civil commissioner, in the report he drew up for the use of the government, in 1809, recommended to the government, at the suggestion of certain individuals, to abolish Bethelsdorp, and to disperse the people among the farmers. The Earl of Caledon and Sir John Cradock (now Lord Howden) had too much integrity of character, and too much benevolence, to allow them to listen to such a proposition; but the design was not to be abandoned, and the defeat of its abettors, without producing any alteration in their purpose, only led them to change the method by which they endeavoured to gain their object.

Some of the worst abuses which had obtained in the colony before it came under the English dominion, and which were merely connived at by the old government, were now confirmed by goverment proclamations, accompanied with all the authority and the sanction of colonial law; and while the privileges of the missions within the colony were gradually curtailed, the missions beyond its limits were not left undisturbed.

Two of our missionary stations among the Bushmen were put down, and the missionaries recalled. Our missionary station at Griqua Town, beyond the Orange river, was subjected to a colonial interference, which threatened its destruction. Zuurbrak (or Caledon institution) was alienated from us, and the people op-

pressed and dispersed among the farmers. A plan was formed to deprive us of Pacaltsdorp, and to dispose of the people among the neighbouring colonists: and so oppressive had the conduct of the landdrosts of Albany and Uitenhage become to the missionary institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, that they must have been speedily ruined, but for the measures which were adopted to save them. So late as the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, the people were unable longer to sustain the oppressions imposed upon them by the local authorities of the districts; and such was the system of annoyance carried on at the same time against the missionaries, that nothing but the hope of succeeding by a last effort could reconcile them to remain in their situations.

In 1821, the result of an investigation at Bethelsdorp, in the presence of the acting governor, brought things to a crisis. Eight charges, preferred against the landdrost of Uitenhage, were declared to be false, and the missionaries were accused of having entered into a foul conspiracy against that magistrate. A few months after this investigation I visited this station, when I discovered official documents in the hand-writing of that functionary, which proved all the charges brought against him, one only excepted, and that charge was afterwards established by another species of evidence. A document, composed of letters and notes in the handwriting of the accused, was laid before government early in the year 1822, accompanied with a petition praying for a relaxation of the system, and that the

people might not be any longer oppressed in the way they had been. The following extract of the letter which was transmitted to the colonial office with the above document, addressed to the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, will show the spirit in which that article was drawn up, and the objects proposed in laying it before government.

"In presenting the statement now laid before your Excellency, I beg it to be understood, that the individuals concerned in drawing it up have no resentments to gratify, that they have no wish for redress for past wrongs, and that they have no object on the present occasion beyond relief from the unnecessary burdens the institution of Bethelsdorp is now lying under."

To the document in question, and to the letter which accompanied it, I received no official answer; and I had the mortification to discover that every application for a mitigation of the people's sufferings was followed by fresh injuries and oppressions.

During three years, without sending home a single complaint, I had done every thing in my power to conciliate the colonial government, and to induce it to allow us to pursue our labours in peace. I stated again and again to the leading members of the government, that if they forced me to make an appeal home, the case of the Hottentots would bring all the affairs of the colony under review; but all my attempts to prevent the necessity of being forced upon this last resource proved in vain.

After his Majesty's commissioners had finished their

inquiries into the state of the natives, and after they had visited the missionary institutions, I found them favourable, in their conversation, to my views; but they had no power to make any alterations in the system, and were even uncertain what influence their opinion might have on ministers at home. Being unable to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the mind of the government at home upon the subject, I solicited and obtained leave, from the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to visit England, in the prosecution of an object in which I had risked both health and character, and which was dearer to me than life itself.

My arrival in London, in April 1826, was intimated to Earl Bathurst by the Directors of the London Missionary Society. To this notice a reply was returned by his Lordship, stating that he would be glad to receive from me any communications I might have to make to him in writing. Many memorials had already been sent from the missionary rooms to the colonial office in Downing Street, detailing the oppressions and sufferings of the natives, under particular circumstances, or proclamations; but, in compliance with his Lordship's request, I drew up an abridgement of all my papers, presenting in one view the whole case of the natives and of the missions.

While I consider myself as personally responsible for all the statements contained in these volumes, I may notice, in this place, that those exhibited in the above document were compared with my original papers, by a committee of the Board of Directors, and

approved of by them, before it was transmitted to Earl Bathurst's office. In reply to this communication, the Board of Directors were honoured by an official letter from his Lordship, stating that he could not give an opinion on the subject till he saw the Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry.

In April, 1824, Mr. Buxton had moved an address to the Honourable the House of Commons for copies of extracts of all correspondence relative to the condition and treatment of the Hottentots, &c. If Earl Bathurst's manner of treating the subject was discouraging, the return to the address, which was printed in March, 1827, was still more so. This extraordinary document, instead of furnishing copies of *all correspondence*, contained nothing but an ex-parte statement by the Governor, without a single reference to the Commissioners' reports. The reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry on the Government and Finances of the colony were printed only a month later than the return made to Mr. Buxton's motion. It was some time in November or December last that I had them put into my hands; but they contain so little in reference to the coloured population that I laid them aside, expecting the full report on this subject: and I should not again have adverted to them, had I not been recently told, by a member of the House of Commons, that he believed that they contained all that it was then the intention of ministers to print on this subject.

After having established, before two of his Majesty's

Commissioners of Inquiry, my allegations respecting the oppressed state of the natives, and the hostility manifested against the missionary institutions, I was willing to have given up all my proofs and documents to the colonial government, had pledges been granted me that the natives should have their freedom secured to them. Since my return to this country, I would, at any time before these volumes went to the press, have committed the papers they contain to the flames, had his Majesty's ministers met me with the assurance that they would do justice to the oppressed and deeply-injured native inhabitants of South Africa. But the reserve which government has so long maintained on this point;—the official coldness of Earl Bathurst's reply to the memorial of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, and to my report;—the meagre and extraordinary character of the return to Mr. Buxton's motion;—the unsatisfactory nature of what has been published in the reports of the Commissioners on the Government and Finances of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope in relation to the natives;—the manner in which their special reports on this subject have been withheld from parliament;—and the simple fact that the system laid open in the following pages was still carried on in the colony so late as the date of the last letter I received from it,—have left me no alternative but to lay this subject before the public in all its length and breadth, or to run the risk of losing the fruit of all my exertions for the natives, and the advantage of all the documents I have collected in their favour; and thus

of leaving them where I found them,—in the most oppressed condition of any people under any civilized government known to us upon earth.

In the brief notice which has been taken of the state of the Hottentots, and of the causes which have given rise to the increase of their sufferings within the last twenty years, while relating the circumstances in which the present volumes originated, I must have been anticipated by the reader in what remains to be said respecting the object of their publication. The most strenuous advocates for the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, will scarcely carry their principles so far as to plead for indifference to their own civil rights, and the natural rights of their fellow-creatures. There are questions affecting the highest interests of society, on which it is criminal to be silent. There are crimes and conspiracies against man, in his collective and individual capacity, which strip the guilty of all the respect due to the adventitious circumstances connected with rank and station ; and to know that such combinations exist, and not to denounce them, is treason against the throne of Heaven, and the immutable principles of Truth and Justice.

No question can be more simple and less incumbered with difficulties than the one before us. We ask for nothing unreasonable, nothing illegal, nothing new. We have nothing to say to politics. The question under discussion is a mere question of civil rights. We have advanced no suggestions about the new charter of justice. We are the advocates of no particular

form of civil government for the colony. We have offered no particular directions about the machinery of government desirable in such a country. We have recommended no checks but such as are necessary to prevent one class of British subjects from oppressing and destroying another. In what we propose we suspend no weight upon the wheels of government. We ask nothing for the poor natives more than this, that they should have the protection the law affords to the colonists. There is nothing surely in these claims, against which the shadow of an objection can be urged.

Independent of printed statutes, there are certain rights which human beings possess, and of which they cannot be deprived but by manifest injustice. The wanderer in the desert has a right to his life, to his liberty, his wife, his children, and his property. The Hottentot has a right to a fair price for his labour; to an exemption from cruelty and oppression; to choose the place of his abode, and to enjoy the society of his children; and no one can deprive him of those rights without violating the laws of nature and of nations. If the perpetration of such outrages against the laws of nature and of nations is a crime, that crime is greatly aggravated when it is committed against the *lex loci*, against the written law of the land. The Hottentots, in addition to the unalienable rights conferred upon them by their Creator, have prescriptive rights in their favour; they are regarded by the British government as a free people; and the colonial law says, that they are to be treated in their persons, in their properties,

and in their possessions, the same as other free people.

We have shown, in the following pages, that the natives of South Africa have been deprived of these rights, and we now come forward with the law in our hand—which acknowledges them a free people, and grants to them the rights which have been specified—and we ask the British government, and the British public, whether the system of cruelty and injustice which is now brought to light is to have their sanction? or, whether the people who have been so long oppressed by its operations, are to have the enjoyment of those rights restored to them?

Considering the beneficial effects which have attended the labours of the missionaries, it may be matter of surprise to some of my readers, that in the means recommended to the government for the improvement of the natives, I should have dwelt so little upon this point. In reply to this objection, it is only necessary to remark, that in asking protection for the people, from colonial rapacity and cruelty, we ask all the efficient aid which government can afford us in the prosecution of our labours. Government may support an ecclesiastical establishment among a people professing Christianity; but a missionary society, possessing the efficiency necessary to bring savages or barbarians into a state to call for such a provision, is an apparatus, which human government can neither fabricate nor conduct with success.

As an apology for having brought forward, in the following pages, two cases of oppression which had been redressed by orders from the government at home, it is necessary only to state, that my object, in these pages, is to shew the system as it now works, with a view to have it altered. The cases I have brought forward are now become matter of history; and it must appear evident to such as pay attention to this subject, that we shall gain nothing for the missions or for the people, unless we secure for both a protection which will render such struggles, on the part of the missionaries, no longer necessary. If the local magistrates of the colony are still to have it in their power to oppress the people, and to harass the missionary institutions, as has been the practice, even should every case in appeal be declared in their favour in England, decisions of such a nature, under such circumstances, would neither save the missions from ruin, nor the people from slavery. When the delay and cost on the one side, and the impunity afforded on the other, are placed in contrast, we might say, on reviewing such decisions—as an ancient general did on being congratulated on having gained a victory over the Romans, to obtain which the flower of his army had been sacrificed—"Such another victory, and I am undone."

While the fruits of civilization, including civil liberty, &c., are to be viewed as earthly and perishing in their nature, and as secondary blessings which "christianity scatters in its march to immortality," it ought

not to be forgotten that they furnish its triumphal car, facilitate its progress, send forth its heralds, consolidate its empire, and extend its conquests. What could men of the most apostolic spirit now do for the propagation of religion in Turkey or in Spain? If it is the duty of Englishmen to claim the protection of the laws of their country; if the Apostle Paul was in the exercise of his duty when he claimed the privileges of a Roman citizen, and appealed from the judgment of Festus to the tribunal of Cæsar,—it is to be hoped that the friends of humanity and of religion in England, will see it to be their duty to petition the British throne and the British parliament, that the natives of South Africa may have those rights secured to them, which have become necessary to the preservation and extension of religion among them; and I may add, as it regards the native tribes, beyond the colony, to their existence as a people.

Let the advocates of religion and humanity use their efforts to put a period to the slavery of the Aborigines within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and they will, by that single act, do more for the promulgation of the gospel in South Africa, than all the funds of the London Missionary Society could effect while things continue in that colony as they now are. Under the present system, the labours of the missionaries must be limited to the missionary institutions, and their efforts, even at them, are like the attempts which may be made to rescue from the ocean a small portion of the beach,

which is liable to be swallowed up by the next spring tide. But if we can procure for the people their civil rights, we may gradually withdraw the funds now employed in supporting our missionary institutions, and employ them in diffusing the gospel on a more extensive scale. Excepting a few missionaries at the principle drostdys or towns who may be employed among the coloured population of every class on the sabbath, and in preaching at the farm houses in the neighbourhood on week evenings, the natives may then be left to the provision made for the religious instruction of the colonists.

By adopting the liberal plan recommended towards the Hottentots, an objection which has been brought against our missionary institutions, that we train up the Hottentots as a separate people, will be removed, together with the necessity for such institutions themselves.

The missionary stations in South Africa are the only places where the natives of the country have a shadow of protection, and where they can claim an exemption from the most humiliating and degrading sufferings; but when the British government shall afford them the protection of equal laws, our missionary institutions will be no longer necessary as houses of refuge, and the aboriginal inhabitants, now living as a separate people, will become amalgamated with the other parts of the colonial population. It is the cruel oppression under which they labour, which makes such asylums necessary. Do away with those oppressions; allow the people to have a fair price for their labour;

to settle as free labourers in any part of the colony they may choose for their abode, and the natives themselves will prefer the advantage of a residence among the inhabitants as a free people, to their present straitened condition at our missionary settlements, where they must always find it difficult to obtain the means of subsistence *.

It was once remarked by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons, that it was to be hoped that in proportion as we receded from the coast where the effects of the slave trade were less felt, we should find the people more civilized; but recent discoveries have satisfied us that there is no point of that vast continent free from the baneful effects of this traffic. Great Britain has lifted up her voice against this traffic in flesh and blood; she has declared it to be felony for any of her subjects to be found seizing the Aborigines of Africa, and carrying them off in chains from their native shores; and she is now called upon to show her sincerity, by putting an end to it in one of its most odious forms in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

* The Baron de Richemont, after returning from visiting the interior of the colony, remarked to the writer:—"Till I visited your missionary institutions, I had no idea of their nature and importance. I considered them as schools of instruction merely; but they combine, in themselves, all the claims of all the religious and benevolent societies in Europe. They are the only asylums the poor wretched Aborigines have from the most cruel oppressions."

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI ... ORE

Much has been said respecting the compensations conquered nations have received for the injuries inflicted upon them, when they have chanced to fall under the sway of empires in a higher state of civilization than themselves; but whatever reparation the natives of Europe may have made to other countries for the evils which have been occasioned by their thirst of dominion, the wrongs of Africa are still unredressed. It is painful to reflect that the history of South Africa, a country which has been so long colonized from Europe, and by men professing that faith which teaches us that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," should furnish no points of relief to the dark shades of a picture which exhibits the inhabitants of the eastern and western shores of this continent, as the wretched victims of European avarice and cruelty.

If any one finds fault with me for my exertions in the cause of this oppressed people, I would ask that man to place himself in imagination with his family in the situation of the Hottentots and Bushmen; and I would then require of him to say whether in that case he would blame me. Let such persons remember that the law of God is to do to others as we would be done by.

Under what different aspects the same object may appear to different persons! While the Christian missionary looks at a savage tribe, and regards them in the light of divine truth, he feels that he can

relinquish every earthly comfort, and even life itself, if he may be the means of raising them to the enjoyment of the Christian hope; while the man who may be standing beside him, and who, perhaps, bears a striking resemblance to him in his physical qualities and social habits, is all the time thinking how he may enrich himself, by getting possession of their children and cattle. This difference in their principles gives rise to the difference which marks their conduct. The good shepherd is ready to sacrifice his life for the flock—the wolf never comes into the fold, but to kill or to steal. In Africa, the contrast which has been thus instituted is to be seen every day.

The sentiments of every heart imbued with divine truth, must respond to the Christian philosophy expressed in the following extract from the writings of Dr. Chalmers. "What the man of liberal philosophy is in sentiment, the missionary is in practice. He sees in every man a partaker of his own nature, and a brother of his own species. He contemplates the human mind in the generality of its great elements. He enters upon the wide field of benevolence, and disdains the geographical barriers by which little men would shut out one half of the species from the kind offices of the other. His business is with man, and let his localities be what they may, enough for his large and noble heart, that he is bone of the same bone. To get at him, he will shun no dangers; he will spare himself no fatigue; he will brave every element of heaven; he will hazard

the extremities of every clime; he will cross seas, and work his persevering way through the briars and thickets of the wilderness. In perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the heathen, in weariness and painfulness, he seeks after him. The caste and the colour are nothing to the comprehensive eye of a missionary. His is the broad principle of good will to the children of men. His doings are with the species; and overlooking all the accidents of climate or of country, enough for him, if the individual he is in quest of be a man—a brother of the same nature—with a body which a few years will bring to the grave, and a spirit that must return to God who gave it."

In an age so much distinguished for benevolence, it is remarkable that the condition of the Aborigines of South Africa should excite so little interest. When their numbers, their circumstances, and their sufferings are considered, they exhibit the strongest claims upon our sympathy. What a reproach to civilized nations, that their neighbourhood to savage tribes has hitherto proved more fatal to their numbers and their comforts, than famine, pestilence, or the wild beasts of the wilderness.

It was a happy thought of Mr. Wilberforce to present Africa in chains at the bar of the House of the British Commons pleading for her rights. Could we embody but a fractional portion of the miseries of her tribes to the eye of the British public, it would stir up a spirit that would immortalize the British name, and

hand it down to posterity with associations more captivating than have ever been connected with Roman or Grecian fame. The cause of these poor natives is not the cause of a sect, or of a party. It is the cause of humanity as well as the cause of our common Christianity, and presents the strongest claims upon our sympathy and active benevolence. Among a people where national honour stands so high, and where the claims of every form of misery are recognised, it is to be hoped, that eloquent advocates will be found whose labours in this untrodden path will wipe away the reproach of civilized nations, and show the world how we may make the countries adjoining our colonial possessions quiet, without converting them into deserts.

LONDON, *April* 5, 1828.

What mankind has lost and gained by European conquests, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty committed: the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practice cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of the original invader had slept in his bosom; and, surely, more happy for the oppressors! But there is reason to hope, that out of much evil, good may be sometimes produced, and that the light of the gospel will, at last, illuminate the sands of Africa and the deserts of America; though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of men calling themselves Christians.

Dr. Johnson.

CONDITION

OF THE

NATIVE TRIBES,

&c., &c.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—The Portuguese and Dutch visit the Cape.—State of the Natives—their Character.—Object of this Work.

The history of a people, ignorant of letters, and possessing no monuments of art, commences at the period when they are first visited by travellers or adventurers from more civilized communities, whose accounts have in most instances been coloured by their prejudices or their interests. An unknown language, manners and customs and a state of society the reverse of his own, of which he has perhaps never before read of an example, distract the first observer; and in every direction present insuperable obstacles to his inquiries, whilst his credulity is increased by the singularity of the facts which come under his observation. Meagre narratives, defective, or filled up with conjectures, seemingly adopted merely to surprise or amuse, are thus the chief materials out of which the first chapters of the history of most nations are composed. And if these were only unprofitable they might be passed over in silence; but as the character thus fixed

upon barbarous tribes has too often been pleaded as a justification of the most oppressive and cruel treatment of them by the powerful strangers who came to settle in their country, it becomes the duty of succeeding writers to search into the origin and grounds of such representations with the utmost care and impartiality. We have examples where it has been held a sufficient reason for depriving a people of their lands and grazing grounds, that they had no houses or cultivated lands; and when thus reduced to want, they are speedily denounced and hunted down as robbers, or rather as beasts of prey. The connexion between the new and old inhabitants in such circumstances becomes nothing more than a reciprocity of injuries, and the growing colony presents on its borders an unbroken line of crimes and blood. Such is the picture of almost every new settlement in an uncivilized country; and the result has almost uniformly been either the extirpation of the original inhabitants, or their degradation to the condition of slaves or bondmen.

To the melancholy list of instances by which this view is supported, I am about to add that of the Aborigines of Southern Africa;—a people that in the course of less than a century were violently dispossessed of every portion of their territory, deprived of every means of improving their condition as individuals, and, under various pretexts, fixed by law in a state of hopeless bondage in the land of their forefathers. To give a faithful sketch of their past sufferings, and of their present condition, is my chief object. I shall, in every instance, lay my authority before the reader. Should the facts which I have to disclose give pain to individuals, I have only to say, that the correctness of my

statements is the only reply which the dignity of Truth permits me to offer. I dare not shrink either from the labour or the responsibility of bringing before the world, for its impartial decision, a series of wrongs and outrages inflicted on the innocent and defenceless. To have seen them, imposes upon me, as a sacred duty, the task of holding them up to the public eye; and, to use the words of Milton, "When God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal."

When the Portuguese first visited the Cape of Good Hope, they found the inhabitants rich in cattle, living in a happy and comfortable manner, and possessed of sufficient spirit to repel aggression and to resent unjust treatment. From the slight intercourse held with them, chiefly for the purpose of procuring water and refreshments for their ships, they were led to entertain very favourable notions of the character of these natives. It was said, that they were remarkable for the excellence of their morals, that they kept the law of nations better than most civilized people, and that they were valiant in arms. Of this latter quality, they gave a memorable proof in the year 1510, when Francisco Almeida, first viceroy of the Portuguese in India, was defeated and killed in an obstinate engagement with the Hottentots, near the Salt River, in the neighbourhood of the place where Cape Town now stands.

When the Dutch took possession of the Cape, in 1652, the natives appear to have been much more numerous than they now are, and to have possessed large herds of cattle. And although some of the early writers who had visited the Cape previous to the

colonization of the Dutch, seem to have given exaggerated accounts of the number and wealth of this people, yet from documents to which I have had access, it is evident that the numbers and wealth of the Hottentots were very soon much diminished by their contiguity to their European neighbours. So rapid indeed was this diminution, occasioned by the trade carried on between them and the new settlers, that it arrested the attention of the government; and it appears from the minutes of an investigation before the governor, Van der Stell, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, that a single Hottentot village had been robbed of cattle by the colonists to the amount of two thousand head. It appears, also, from the returns made by the officers commanding the parties sent against the Bushmen, so late as the year 1770, that their villages frequently contained from one hundred to two hundred men; and these villages were, at that time, in the possession of cattle.

All the records of the colony, during the first fifty years of the Dutch occupation, which I have seen, agree in praising the virtues of the Hottentots; and such was the admiration extorted by these virtues from the colonists, that all the Hottentot tribes were distinguished by the appellation of "The good men." It is related, on the authority of Bogaert, that, during the whole of that period, the natives had never in one instance been detected in committing an act of theft on the property of the colonists. The first that took place happened in the year 1700, and the party who suffered by it had so high an opinion of the honesty of the Hottentots, that the blame was laid upon the slaves, and the real thief was not so much as suspected.

The article stolen was a waistcoat with silver buttons, and could not easily be concealed among savages. Accordingly, a short time after the affair had taken place, the waistcoat was found in the possession of a Hottentot, belonging to a kraal at a small distance from Cape Town. The discovery was no sooner made than the offender was seized by his countrymen, who brought him to town, and delivered him over to the magistrates. And so great a disgrace did they consider this act to their nation, that they demanded that he should be punished, as the only means of wiping off the stain his crime had fixed upon them; and not satisfied with his getting a severe flogging, they banished him from their village, as unworthy to live among them.

The injuries inflicted upon the Hottentots by the colonists must have had a deteriorating influence on their character, in the course of one hundred and fifty years, during which time they had been driven from the most fertile tracts of country, and deprived of that independence to which they were passionately attached; yet so much of the character ascribed to them by the early writers remained visible even at the time when Mr. Barrow travelled among them, that we hesitate not to receive, as accurate, descriptions that might otherwise have been thought too flattering. "A Hottentot," says this intelligent writer, "is capable of strong attachments; with a readiness to acknowledge, he possesses the mind to feel the force of a benevolent action. I never found that any little act of kindness or attention was thrown away upon a Hottentot; but, on the contrary, I have frequently had occasion to remark the joy that sparkled on his countenance whenever an

opportunity occurred to enable him to discharge his debt of gratitude. I give full credit to all that M. Le Vaillant has said with regard to the fidelity and attachment he experienced from this race of men, of whom the natural character and disposition seem to approach nearer to those of the Hindûs than of any other nation." That the following tribute paid to the honour of the Hottentot character by the same traveller was well merited, I have been fully satisfied by my own observation and experience during my residence in South Africa; and I never knew an individual who was acquainted with the manners of this people, who did not acknowledge its justice. "A Hottentot, among the many good qualities he possesses, has one which he is master of in an eminent degree,—I mean a rigid adherence to truth. When accused of a crime of which he has been guilty, with native simplicity, he always states the fact as it happened; but, at the same time, he has always a justification at hand for what he has done. From lying and stealing, the predominant and inseparable vices of the condition of slavery, the Hottentot may be considered as exempt. In the whole course of my travels, and in the midst of the numerous attendants of this nation with which I was constantly surrounded, I can with safety declare that I never was robbed or deceived by any of them."

Like other tribes in an uncivilized state, the Hottentots lived together in their kraals, or villages, like members of the same family, having their cattle and chief property as a sort of common stock, to which all had an equal right. When an individual killed an ox or a sheep, the slaughtered animal afforded a common

feast; and the person to whom it belonged had as little food in his house on the next day, or the day following, as any of his neighbours. The same practice, it may be observed, obtains still among the Caffers, the Bushmen, and the Namaquas. If a dozen of people leave a kraal to hunt game, and one only is successful, the fortunate individual shares his provision with his less successful companions of the chase.

I never have been able to discover from my intercourse with the natives, or from any other source, that this nation had ever attained any distinct notion of a Supreme Being, or that an idea of a future state of existence had at any period prevailed among them. Africaner*, the most intelligent savage I have ever met with, declared that, previous to his acquaintance with the Missionaries, he had no idea of a Spirit, Creator, or Supreme Ruler. In his intercourse with the colonists, he had heard, as he observed to me, "that they had a God; but he never saw him in the winds, in the thunder, in the lightning, in the heavens, nor in any of his works; and so contracted were his views on this subject, that, by the God of the white people, he only understood something under that name which they might carry about with them in their pockets." Being asked if it never occurred to him to inquire how the world was made, or who formed the sun and the stars and the clouds, his reply was, "I was always so engrossed with my cattle and my wars, that I never lifted my thoughts so high; or if, at any time, a question arose in my mind on these subjects, the difficulty of solving it was so great

* Some account of this extraordinary person will be given in the sequel.

that it no sooner presented itself than it was dismissed." But the conclusive argument on this point is the fact, that neither they nor the Bushmen had any word in their language to express the Deity. The only name which the Hottentots have for him (and this is by no means general) is Thuike, or Utìka, an appellation of which the derivation and meaning are very uncertain*.

But whatever their opinions may have been on this subject, they were not entirely without moral restraints. Before they were corrupted by their intercourse with Europeans, adultery and fornication were considered among them as crimes.

But as the independence of the Hottentot tribes of Southern Africa is now matter of history only, for a view of their habits and social manners in that state, we must look to the pages of Sparrman, Vaillant, and other travellers. The manner in which Vaillant relates his personal adventures has thrown an air of fiction over the general details of his work; but his delineations of Hottentot character and Hottentot manners are universally allowed, by those acquainted with the period of which he writes, to be accurate and just. As a writer of travels, Sparrman occupies a higher place than Vaillant; and though, like other travellers, he may have been imposed upon, with respect to the information furnished him by others, his veracity may be relied on in every instance where he relates what came under his own observation. Vaillant cavils at

* The Missionary Brownlee, who is a respectable authority, states, that the Caffers have some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call *Uhlanga;* but that until the Missionaries went among them, they had no conception of a state of future rewards or punishments.

some of his statements, but alleges nothing to impeach his veracity; and both agree in the outlines they have given of the character and condition of the Hottentots.

The following picture of two Hottentot tribes, remaining in a state of independence, was drawn by Sparrman in the year 1775; and as coming from the pen of a man of probity and good sense, who was one of the last of our African travellers who had the advantage of witnessing what he has here described, it cannot fail to be perused with interest:—

"A small society of Gunjemans Hottentots, whose ancestors, at the time that the Dutch invaded this part of the continent, inhabited the tract of country about Table Mountain and Constantia, now live on friendly terms with the farmer above mentioned. By what I could understand, this little society had long been without the exercise of any personal authority among them, without beggars, and without any penal laws and statutes, as well as without crimes and misdemeanors; having been united and governed only by their own natural love of justice, and mildness of disposition, together with several common Hottentot usages and customs.

"My Hottentots from Swellendam seemed to hold in high estimation the virtue, freedom, and happy state of these people; so much indeed, that they were resolved to partake of the blessings enjoyed by this happy race for the remainder of their lives, as soon as they should have finished the journey with us at the Cape. For this purpose they solicited me to buy at this place, for each of them, a heifer with calf, which, according to our agreement, they had a right to demand for their reward. As Hottentots, this way of

thinking and turn of mind did not by any means discredit them. I therefore advanced for them glass beads, brass tinder-boxes, knives, and steels for flints, to the value of nine or ten rix-dollars; in consideration of which, two of the best heifers in their judgment among the whole herd of cattle belonging to the kraal were looked out for them.

"The most considerable part of this herd belonged to a widow, who was reckoned to be worth sixty milch cows, and was (at least in this point) the most respectable female Hottentot I was ever acquainted with. She was childless, and was to be succeeded in her estate by her cousin; she seemed to be past the middle age, and, in her younger days, to have been a beauty in her kind."

"To the divine pleasure of doing good to their fellow-creatures, I look upon the Hottentots to be by no means insensible, as I have seen them display the greatest hospitality to each other, when in the course of their business, or merely for pleasure, they have visited one another from a great distance. Besides, it is probable that, in the other well-governed Hottentot kraals, any more than in this, no member of society is abandoned to any considerable degree of indigence and misery. But in consequence of the further migrations of the colonists hither, and of the quantity of glass beads and other commodities, which I at this time brought to market here, and for which I found a good sale among the fair sex, I think I can plainly foresee a speedy and not inconsiderable revolution in the turn of mind and manners of this society."

Of a kraal on the Little Sunday River, he gives the following account:—

"They appeared to me not so swarthy as my own Hottentots, and I suppose that they originate only from a set of people who, having acquired some cattle by servitude among the Caffers, had formed themselves into this society. The iris of their eyes was of a very dark brown hue, and almost, if not quite, as dark as the pupil. They had a great quantity of cattle, and seemed to live very happily in their way. As soon as ever they had taken their cattle up from pasture they milked them; an occupation they intermixed with singing and dancing.

"We seldom see such happiness and contentment as seems to be indicated by this festive custom, in a handful of people totally uncultivated, and subsisting in their original savage state, in the midst of a perfect desert. Mr. Immelman* accompanied me, in order to behold with his own eyes the real archetype of that state of pastoral felicity, which the poets are continually occupied in painting and describing. We announced ourselves here, likewise, as being the children of the Company, and were received by them with a friendly simplicity and homely freedom, which, however, by no means lessened them in our thoughts as men. They presented us with milk, and danced at our request, at the same time giving us to understand, that our fame, as being a singular people with plaited hair, and at the same time simplers and viper-catchers, had reached them long before our arrival.

"We were spectators of their country-dances, in which there was very little of agility or art. While their feet were employed in a kind of stamping and

* Sparrman's fellow-traveller, and a native of the Cape.

moderately slow movement, every one of them at intervals made several small gentle motions with a little stick, which they held in their hands. The simplicity which prevailed in their dances was equally conspicuous in their singing.

"It must be confessed, that this concert was not well adapted to satisfy a nice ear; however, it inspired a certain degree of joy and cheerfulness, and was by no means disagreeable."

"Approaching near to nature and under her immediate protection," says Vaillant, in giving a similar description of one of the dances of this people, "the savages have no need of our noisy and most harmonious orchestras to excite them in their festivals to the liveliest demonstrations of pleasure and joy. The confined and monotonous modulation of their music is sufficient; and I believe that, even without it, they would caper equally well.

"In his course of Geographical Lectures, one of our modern authors who has made it a rule to study men, at the same time that he describes places, observes, with great sagacity, that, in a polished state, dancing and singing are two arts; but that, in the bosom of the forests, they are almost natural signs of concord, friendship, tenderness, and pleasure. We learn, under masters," adds this writer, "to command our voice, and to move our limbs in cadence; the savage has no other instructor but his own passions, his own heart, and nature. What he feels, we pretend to feel; the savage, therefore, who dances and sings is always happy."

The same writer, describing the occupations of these simple people, and the seasons they choose for their

favourite amusements, remarks, that they never assemble to amuse themselves in this manner, excepting in the night, their daily occupations leaving them no other time.

"A particular duty," he observes, "belongs to each, which must be discharged:—some must continually watch over the flocks, scattered throughout the fields, not only to prevent them from straying, but to protect them from the attack of ravenous animals, which are continually lying in wait for them; others must keep them clean, and milk them twice a day; some must weave mats, and collect dry wood for their evening fires; and others must provide subsistence, and search for roots. These last occupations belong principally to the women; whilst the men, on their part, go a hunting, inspect the snares which have been laid in different places, and form arrows and all the other instruments which they have occasion for.

"Though these instruments, and all those works that come from their hands, are in general coarse and clumsy, they require a good deal of time and pains, because they are destitute of a number of tools necessary for abridging their labour; their ingenuity is much less admirable than their patience."

These extracts might have been conveniently abridged, but I have preferred giving them in their original form, because, in the words of the writers themselves, who described what they saw, they are calculated to make a more vivid, distinct, and faithful impression, than in any other form that could have been adopted; and the descriptions thus afforded are the more entitled to credit, as they are in perfect unison with all the other authentic accounts given of the

original state of the Hottentots. The calumnies invented against them come from a different source, and originated in causes to be afterwards explained.

Thus it appears, from the concurrent testimony of the best authors, and from facts to be gleaned even at the present day, that the Aborigines of Southern Africa were, when first visited by Europeans, in a state of independence, possessing in abundance the means of subsistence, not destitute of comforts, and living together in great harmony; that their dispositions were mild and inoffensive, their morals comparatively pure, and their conduct towards strangers, as well as towards each other, conciliating and exemplary. It has however been urged, as a common apology in defence of the practice of enslaving the natives of Africa, that they are much happier on the plantations, and in the service of our colonists, than they were when they lived according to the customs of their fathers. How far this opinion has any foundation in truth will be perceived by comparing the preceding statements with the following details, which, though scanty, and sometimes abrupt, and apparently unconnected, owing to the nature of the subject and the difficulty of procuring original documents or authentic information from the common sources of history, will, it is hoped, prove sufficient to give the reader a correct view of the policy and conduct pursued towards this people by the Dutch and English governments, and to produce a disposition in the public mind to do justice to what remains of this oppressed and degraded race.

CHAPTER II.

Names of the various Hottentot Tribes.—Striking peculiarity.—First Settlement of the Dutch.—Treatment of the Natives.—Kupt's Journal—Remarks.

THE Hottentots within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the Bushmen or Bosjesmen, as they are styled by our African travellers, the Corannas, a pastoral tribe inhabiting the banks of the Great Orange River, and the Namaquas, occupying that part of the western coast of Africa marked in our maps with the name of Namaqualand, speak the same language (allowing for varieties of dialects and accents), have nearly the same physical peculiarities, and are branches of the same original stock. One peculiarity of their language is so singular, that it has not failed to attract the attention of all travellers. Most of their words are pronounced with a smack or clucking sound, produced by the quick retraction of the tongue from the teeth of the upper jaw, or from the palate against which it has been pressed. Words of more than one syllable are accompanied or divided, and rendered special and emphatic in their application by two clucks; and these accents, if we may so term them, are formed in three different ways, as the word or the subject requires, by striking the point of the tongue more or less backward against the palate. This characteristic of the Hottentot language, from its frequent recurrence, gives the speaker a grotesque and hurried appearance to a stranger, one

of the clucks being exactly that used to express impatience; while it makes the attainment of the language appear extremely difficult: but as in the case of every innocent peculiarity in the manners of a strange people, our aversion is worn away by familiarity, and many of the Boors speak it with as much fluency as the Hottentots themselves.

With most of these tribes the Dutch, on their forming a settlement at the Cape, came early into contact. This settlement took place in the year 1652: the site chosen was on the southern edge of Table Bay, and the party consisted of one hundred males. This number was speedily recruited by fresh arrivals from Europe, and the population has continued up to the present time to double itself within the space of about every twenty years. Their weakness at first contributed, perhaps, to confirm their peaceable deportment towards the natives. The Dutch East India Company, under whose protection and control they were placed, seem not then to have regarded the conquest or appropriation of the country as an object worthy of their attention. It was considered merely as an appendage to Batavia, and a convenient station for watering and refreshing the fleets engaged in their eastern commerce. Accordingly, for a considerable number of years, the intercourse between the old and new occupants was conducted in the most amicable spirit, the Dutch paying honestly for the supplies of sheep and cattle furnished by the Hottentots, with copper beads, tobacco, and brandy, the current coin in all countries among an uncivilized people. It appears, however, from the private journal of Van Riebeck, the founder of the colony, that even in those early days, from the mud walls of the little fortress by

which his dominions were circumscribed, he could not help gazing with a curious eye on the herds of bullocks ranging over the pastures, and hinting a regret that such fine animals should remain in the possession of heathens *.

As the colonists increased in number, and began to feel their security and strength, and the difficulty of supplying their wants by barter and fair purchase, their encroachments daily augmented, until they were no longer endurable. Posts were formed in advance of the fort, and productive patches of land began to be considered as the property of the settlers. The Hottentots gradually and insensibly ebbed away with their flocks and herds from the vicinity of Table Bay and the Cape Peninsula, and the strangers steadily advanced, fixing their durable houses of stone where the fragile and temporary hut of the native herdsman had sprung up, and disappeared, as caprice or the change of seasons dictated. In some instances it is pretended that tracts of land were regularly purchased from the native chiefs or captains of their respective hordes, who, being in no manner straitened for territory, ceded for a trifling consideration their most valuable possessions. How such bargains were concluded at the period of which we speak, and whether the natives understood that by such transactions they renounced the right of pasturage and occasional occupation, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is most probable that their notions went no farther than to con-

* See Van Riebeck's Journal, published in the "Zuid-Afrikaansch Tydschrift." Cape Town, 1824-1825.

cede the joint and friendly use of the springs and herbage common amongst themselves.

No limit being fixed to the extension of the colony by these means, the number of farmers, or boors as they were called, rapidly increased; and as they removed farther and farther from the seat of government, their trade with the natives began occasionally to be interrupted by disputes and quarrels. Driven back towards the north and north-east, among dry and barren tracts, the Hottentots, seeing their herds and flocks diminishing and now scarcely sufficient for their own wants, avoided the barterers or merchants who came to traffic with them either on their own account or as agents of the Dutch government, and withdrew, on their approach, to the least accessible places. To increase this feeling of jealousy and apprehension, some outrages committed by the colonists greatly contributed; and before the end of the century it appears that some inoffensive kraals or villages had been surprised and plundered by rovers from the settlement.

The aspect of affairs was now entirely altered. The colonists, firmly established in the south-western portions of the country, began to regard the receding Hottentots as intruders and enemies; and though actual hostilities had not commenced between them and the Company, it was obvious that the very existence of the natives was about to be considered as subservient to the interests of the boors. To illustrate the state of the country at the commencement of the eighteenth century, only fifty years after Van Riebeck had fixed his party of one hundred men on the verge of the continent, I shall give a few extracts from the journal of Johannes Sterreberg Kupt, Landdrost, who was sent

into the interior to procure some young oxen for the Company in the year 1705. The journal was kept for the information of government, and is of the nature of a report. It is entitled "Journal of the Landdrost Joh. Sterreberg Kupt, on his journey to the Gonnemaas, Grigriquaas, Namaqua Hottentots." I give it at length, literally translated from the original manuscript, as it presents a curious and faithful picture of the country at that period. It thus commences:—

"On Friday the 16*th October*, 1705, we left the Cape *. I went to Stellenbosch to order the performance of some business to the vice-president of the board of Heemraden, and from thence on the

"18*th*, to Drakenstein to transact some business, and arrived on the

"19*th*, at the post of the Company at Sonquaas Drift, which was the place where I had fixed to meet Baas Hartogh, who had taken another course with the waggons; and travelled on the

"20*th*, from Sonquaas Drift farther on, to take our course, according to instructions, towards the circumjacent Hottentots, in order to barter with them for a number of young oxen for the Honourable Company.

"In the afternoon it was reported to us that the Gonnemaas Hottentots (who were the nearest) did not like to traffic with us, and for that reason had travelled over the mountain into the land of Waaveren, out of our road; but that a captain called Boatsman was living with his kraal beyond the Twenty-four-rivers; towards which we accordingly directed our course, and arrived there at sunset.

"As soon as we had pitched our tent, we saluted

* Cape Town is termed "THE CAPE" by the Colonists.

this chief with a dram and a good *tabutjè*, in the name of the Honourable Company; and gave him to understand that we came to barter for some working cattle, in a friendly manner, for the Honourable Company, who were in great want thereof; and to assure him of the friendship of the Honourable Company: that his Honour the Governor, being informed that he was a good fellow, and rich in cattle, had ordered us to go to him, and that it was expected he would assist us. We then gave him a second dram; but it availed us nothing. He made reply that we must go first to the other Gonnemaas, and from what should occur there, he would see what he had to do.

"During the time he drank once more, I went to the kraal to look over the cattle which had come home, and found them to be a fine herd, although he had sent away his best oxen on hearing of our coming.

"I returned to the tent, and tried again to persuade him to barter, but could not succeed further that evening, except that he was willing to give us some sheep for provision for our journey. We were, therefore, forced to part that evening unsuccessful.

"*21st.* I sent one waggon back to the Cape, transferring the goods to my own waggon, by which I had an opportunity to report to the governor the delay with this stubborn Boatsman, who in the morning brought nothing but twelve sheep, notwithstanding that I had strongly intimated to him, that we were not sent to procure sheep, but oxen; that we were not in want of victuals, for we had abundance of provisions as he could see in the three loaded waggons; and that if he would not barter cattle, he might take back his sheep. On this they departed from the tent to the kraal, and returned a short time afterwards with three young oxen;

which made me follow up the same way of acting, and say that he must be a fool to think I was come with so many waggons and people so far to traffic for three oxen; that he might take them also back, and that I should break up and depart. At last I obtained nine fine young oxen, and nine sheep, for which we gave ten strings of copper beads, thirteen pounds of tobacco, glass beads, and brandy. These cattle we left with him till our return.

"23*d*. We continued our journey, and proceeded towards the corner of Picquet Berg, which was the road pointed out to us by Captain Hannibal, as leading to his kraal. At noon we reached a river similar to Deep River in Koebergen. Here we pitched our tent, which had got wet last night, to dry it. While resting, our men, Hottentots and cattle ate something; and about two o'clock, we again packed up, and continued to travel along the said river till night-fall, when we halted at an old kraal on the north corner of Picquet Berg. We had travelled that day about eight leagues. Here we and Captain Hannibal were told by Bosjesmen, that, about four days ago, a waggon had passed on its way to his kraal, to traffic; and of which waggon they showed us the trace. Upon this he wanted to leave us immediately to hasten to his kraal, as the acts of drunken Gerrit were fresh in his remembrance. However, I persuaded him to remain, by promising to use all expedition to overtake that waggon; and that he should then be an eye-witness that it was here without the knowledge of the governor, as I would arrest that waggon and people, and send them to the Cape. By this he was persuaded, and remained with us, otherwise we might perhaps not have been able to find his kraal.

"24*th.* Continued our journey along the same river, intending to travel a good way, (as it was a cloudy sky, and cool weather,) so as to overtake the waggon; respecting which I here received information from some Bosjesmen, that it belonged to one of the Company's servants at Groene Kloof. This appeared strange to me, since the corporal of that post knew that I was gone into the country to traffic for the Hon. Company, because I had one of the men of that post with me; and he must have been aware that, by sending his waggon, and supplying the Hottentots with tobacco and other things, he would frustrate the object of our journey.

"*Sunday the* 25*th.* We got ready towards noon, and continued our journey, the weather being foggy. After we had travelled about one league, we perceived by fresh tracts that the abovementioned waggon had returned here and passed us in the night, having very likely received information of our arrival. We continued the whole of that day our route along the same river, and formed towards evening our camp on its banks, after having advanced about six leagues. The river at this place was nearly a thousand paces wide, full of sea-gulls, geese, ducks, and other flying and swimming animals. Amongst others we heard the sea-cow.

"26*th.* Early in the morning, with foggy weather, and a strong wind, we directed our course to the right hand inland, through a difficult sand, where the oxen stopped every moment, fell into mole-holes, and stuck fast, and the waggon wheels cut a foot deep in the sand. This continued for three leagues, when we arrived at Hannibal's kraal. Here six captains had joined, and formed altogether twenty-three huts.

"I asked how it was that they had so few cattle—as

the Honourable Company had never trafficked with them. On which they informed us that a certain free man, going by the name of drunken Gerrit, some years ago, accompanied by some other people, had come to their kraal, and without saying a word, had fired upon them from all sides, chased away the Hottentots, burnt their huts, and carried off all their cattle, without their knowing any reason for it, since they had never offended any of the Dutch. That in consequence of having lost all their cattle, they were obliged to go to the bordering Dutch to collect some, and to rob their own countrymen; and whenever they could get any, they drove them into the mountains, and feasted till all was consumed; then they went to fetch other cattle; and in this they had succeeded several times, and had still a few of the cattle left. From another quarter they are also plagued with robberies from a nation of Hottentots, living on the other side of Elephants' River, in inaccessible mountains, and whose country is called, in their language, 'Thynema,' and the captains of these robbers 'Throghama,' 'Tkousa, Doeodie, Tkerringrow.' By these they are constantly plagued, and but seldom able to revenge themselves. But their most sorrowful and exasperated complaints are about the wicked behaviour of this drunken Gerrit, who has been the cause of all the calamities and bloodshed that has since occurred in several encounters with the Dutch. They were obliged, they said, in order to save the small quantity of cattle left them, and to procure victuals for their wives and children, to fight daily with the elephants, and thus obtain subsistence with the greatest danger of their lives. They added that they set great value on the benevolence and friendship of the Honourable Company, which I com-

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

mended so highly to them, and wished much to embrace the same on all opportunities. And verily I have discovered in the manners and behaviour of these people, and by our intercourse with them, much more genuine good nature than in other Hottentots.

"The same evening they left us. During the night it rained hard, with a strong wind from the north-west, in consequence of which we were hardly able to keep our fires burning, or the tent standing. We were the whole night in motion, because the cattle would not remain in the flat, but went off constantly to the bushes to find shelter against the rain and wind. The tent being old did not protect us from the rain.

"*27th.* About eight o'clock in the morning the rain ceased. The captains came, six in number, and brought us six head of cattle, with their former protestations of their poverty. We obtained, however, after talking the whole day, on the

"*28th,* fourteen head of cattle, for which we gave eighteen strings of copper beads, eighteen pounds of tobacco, glass beads, and brandy.

"Here we received accurate reports about the before-mentioned waggon; that the same had been sent by the corporal of the Groene Kloof post, Daniel Tous, with the only men he had with him on the post, and a freeman, Christopher Lutje, to barter; but that they had heard of our coming, and after one day's stay, had departed, having only purchased in haste twelve large elephants' teeth, which they took with them. We learned moreover, that during the last dry season the freemen Pieter Janz, Kees Orlam, Pattje, and Karos-op-sy, had been here to traffic with the Hottentots.

"On going with Hartogh some distance from the tent

to collect some bulbs and seeds, I perceived from a height, the sea; and as the distance did not seem great, we resolved to follow the river, which runs by the kraal, and is named by the Hottentots Thythouw, to see whether it did not join the large Quacoma, and discharge itself with it into the sea. After two hours ride we arrived at the shore, where we found a barren beach, and a tempestuous sea, with a terrible surf and dangerous rocks. We rode some way along the beach, and could just perceive the mouth of the great Quacoma river at a distance, but it was too far for us to go there. This Thythouw river does not discharge itself into the sea, but into a large salt pan, where it must lose itself under the sand-hills, for we found no mouth, and everywhere pretty high sand-hills. I never saw so many flamingoes as at this place, besides a great abundance and variety of ducks, of which we shot a large quantity, and arrived in the evening at our tent. It had been cloudy during the whole day, and became very cold in the evening.

"*29th*. The weather was misty and rainy; we therefore waited till noon, when we re-commenced our journey, and directed our course to the right, towards Elephants' River. After having advanced about two leagues, we stopped at a little rivulet called, by the Namaquaas, Thiethey, and by us Schildpaddenpoel, situate about half a league behind the Theima Koethma, or Wafeberg.

The whole of our way from the kraal to this place was over sandy hills, without grass, but full of thorns, and a certain bush from which distils a gum very much like the mastic in smell, taste, and colour. The Namaquaas call the gum Throop, and use it to fasten their

assagais, knives, &c., as we use resin; wherefore we took some of the plants and of the gum with us. In the afternoon it became fine weather. I sent along the rivulet to search for water-herbs for the horses, for in the whole of this country not a blade of grass was to be found. In the evening it became cloudy again.

"*30th.* The sky was now covered with heavy clouds, and it blew very strong from the north-west, towards which our course was directed. We had not advanced above half a league when we had a heavy rain, which continued the whole day.

"This is a very disagreeable country. Throughout the whole way we found nothing but sand-hills, and valleys full of stones and mole-holes, where cattle and horses sink continually up to the knees; it is full of bushes, but destitute of grass. We rode for some time along a mountain. Here the waggons stuck against a sand-hill, and could not be pulled up till after two hours hard labour, with the assistance of all the people; and here we were drenched by a heavy rain, which I braved stoutly, as long as my cloak would bear it, but was at last compelled to creep like the others under the rocks. It cleared up a little, and we continued our march. Here a rhinoceros stood in our way, about one hundred paces from the road, and we were apprehensive that it would attack us, but on hearing the shouts of the Hottentots it went away. This was the only large game we had seen during the whole of our journey, whereas in former times large herds of elephants were found in this and the country we had passed through. The reason of this change is, that the circumjacent Hottentots, in the abovementioned manner sunk into the deepest poverty, have been compelled to have recourse to the hunting

of elephants, and thus to kill and drive away these animals. They still allow them no rest, for as soon as one is spied by their Sonquaas (soldiers) who wander daily in the fields to catch dasjés, jackals, and other animals, the whole kraal is advertised of it, all the young men assemble and assail those animals till, from fatigue, and wounds from assagais and arrows, they expire. If there is water in the neighbourhood where one falls, the whole kraal, with all that belongs to it, go there. Thus it happens that the kraals do not remain long in one place, and are difficult to be found. In the afternoon, having proceeded about four leagues, we pitched our tent in a valley at the foot of the Thokoe at Olofsfonteyn.

"This mountain is called after a Captain Tho, who some years ago, in his way to his kraal, was devoured by a lion.

"*31st.* We broke up early, and continued our journey at sun-rise. We could perceive now that our horses and oxen began to get weak from the scarcity of pasturage, and constant travelling; for we got over all the hills before very well, with eight oxen, and had now much trouble to pass the Thokoe Kloof, although it was none of the highest. We travelled, however, about four leagues over most miserable sandy or stony roads, until we came to the Elephants' River, which is called here, and higher up, Thârakkamâ, that is, the Bushy River. This river was swelled by the rains; we therefore pitched our tent on this side. Here we took much delight in fishing, and our cattle in grazing, till the night bade us rest.

"*1st November.* Early in the morning we commenced cutting down the banks of the river, which were very steep, with spades and pickaxes, to make

them passable, which we finished about noon; and after the baggage had been carried over by the people, the oxen at last dragged the empty waggon through, so that the whole passed safely over; and as it was very hot we remained the rest of the day and the following night here; but on the

"2d, we were early alert to pack, yoke the oxen, and saddle; and continued our course along the other bank of the Elephants' River, till about noon, when we left it and turned to the right, through the most miserable country imaginable. It consists entirely of red sand, full of bosjes (bushes), and undermined by the moles. Had it been possible, I would have carried my horse, for the poor animals could not move their feet without falling up to the shoulders into mole-holes. In the mean time the sun shone like fire, and no where was water to be found. In short, I never had so unpleasant an afternoon.

"At last, after having advanced five leagues, we discovered a kind of kraal in a very pretty ravine, situate between high and steep rocks. In the rainy season it has a rivulet, which discharges itself into the Elephants' River; but at this season it is nothing but a barren dry ravine, with three or four water-pools.

"We came directly above the kraal before they knew it, and descended along a steep rock towards them. On the first view of us they appeared quite astonished. Some took to their heels to the other side, while a number of armed young men advanced towards us. One of these was so forward that he had already adjusted an arrow to his bow to direct it towards me, being the foremost; but upon the pointing of my gun, and the calling out of the Hottentots who had served

us as guides, he put up the arrow; and the party came with much curiosity around us, asking continually of our Hottentots who we were, and for what reason we had come so far into the country. After having received answer, they were well contented.

"Our waggons, which were obliged to take a circuitous route, arrived at last, and we pitched our tent a musket-shot from the kraal; and after having arranged every thing, went to rest, but were soon disturbed: for about midnight the cattle and horses, which were standing between the waggons, began to start and run, and one of the drivers to shout, on which every one ran out of the tent with his gun. About thirty paces from the tent stood a lion, which on seeing us walked very deliberately about thirty paces farther, behind a small thorn-bush, carrying something with him, which I took to be a young ox. We fired more than sixty shots at that bush, and pierced it stoutly, without perceiving any movement. The south-east wind blew strong, the sky was clear, and the moon shone very bright, so that we could perceive every thing at that distance. After the cattle had been quieted again, and I had looked over every thing, I missed the sentry from before the tent, Jan Smit from Antwerp, belonging to the Groene Kloof. We called as loudly as possible, but in vain,—nobody answered; from which I concluded that the lion had carried him off. Three or four men then advanced very cautiously to the bush, which stood right opposite the door of the tent to see if they could discover any thing of the man, but returned helter skelter, for the lion who was there still, rose up, and began to roar. They found there the musket of the sentry, which was cocked, and also his cap and shoes.

"We fired again about an hundred shots at the bush, (which was sixty paces from the tent and only thirty paces from the waggons, and at which we were able to point as at a target,) without perceiving any thing of the lion, from which we concluded that he was killed or had run away. This induced the marksman, Jan Stamansz, to go and see if he was there still or not, taking with him a firebrand. But as soon as he approached the bush the lion roared terribly and leapt at him; on which he threw the firebrand at him, and the other people having fired about ten shots, he retired directly to his former place behind that bush.

"The firebrand which he had thrown at the lion had fallen in the midst of the bush, and, favoured by the strong south-east wind, it began to burn with a great flame, so that we could see very clearly into and through it. We continued our firing into it; the night passed away, and the day began to break, which animated every one to aim at the lion, because he could not go from thence without exposing himself entirely, as the bush stood directly against a steep kloof. Seven men, posted on the farthest waggons, watched him, to take aim at him if he should come out.

"At last, before it became quite light, he walked up the hill with the man in his mouth, when about forty shots were fired at him without hitting him, although some were very near. Every time this happened he turned round towards the tent, and came roaring towards us; and I am of opinion, that if he had been hit, he would have rushed on the people and the tent.

"When it became broad day-light, we perceived, by the blood and a piece of the clothes of the man, that the lion had taken him away and carried him with him,

We also found, behind the bush, the place where the lion had been keeping the man, and it appeared impossible that no ball should have hit him, as we found in that place several balls beaten flat. We concluded that he was wounded, and not far from this. The people therefore requested permission to go in search of the man's corpse in order to bury it, supposing that, by our continual firing, the lion would not have had time to devour much of it. I gave permission to some, on condition that they should take a good party of armed Hottentots with them, and made them promise that they would not run into danger, but keep a good look out, and be circumspect. On this seven of them, assisted by forty-three armed Hottentots, followed the track, and found the lion about half a league farther on, lying behind a little bush. On the shout of the Hottentots, he sprang up and ran away, on which they all pursued him. At last the beast turned round, and rushed, roaring terribly, amongst the crowd. The people, fatigued and out of breath with their running, fired and missed him, on which he made directly towards them. The captain, or chief head of the kraal, here did a brave act in aid of two of the people whom the lion attacked. The gun of one of them missed fire, and the other missed his aim, on which the captain threw himself between the lion and the people so close, that the lion struck his claws into the caross (mantle) of the Hottentot. But he was too agile for him, doffed his caross, and stabbed him with an assagai. Instantly the other Hottentots hastened on, and adorned him with their assagais, so that he looked like a porcupine. Notwithstanding this he did not leave off roaring and leaping, and bit off some of the assagais, till the marksman Jan Stamansz fired a ball into his eye, which made

him turn over, and he was then shot dead by the other people. He was a tremendously large beast, and had but a short time before carried off a Hottentot from the kraal and devoured him.

"I have been thus tedious, because I do not remember to have heard of such audacity in a beast; and the bravery of the Hottentot is also remarkable.

"The corpse of the man, as we found, had been griped by the lion with his left paw on the left side of the head; and being taken by the shoulder in the lion's mouth, was thus carried away. Both the thighs and the left shoulder were devoured. We brought both the corpses to the tent, and buried the man in the place from which he had been carried off. The lion was also put under ground, to prevent the cattle being frightened by the scent of him.

"During the whole of this day it was burning hot. The Hottentots warned us that two lionesses had been heard thereabout; I therefore caused, in the afternoon, a kraal, or fence of thorns, to be made, and on three places sentries to be placed.

"*4th.* We proceeded with the bartering, which had been delayed the day before; and, after a great deal of talking and haggling, we succeeded in procuring thirty-three head of cattle for thirty-three pounds of tobacco, thirty-three strings of copper beads, thirty-three strings of glass beads, and thirty-three tobacco pipes; and also fourteen sheep for seven pounds of tobacco. We also made a present to the captains and their followers of four strings of copper beads and two pounds of tobacco.

"The heat of the sun was almost insupportable, and in the tent it was as hot as an oven.

"In the evening we heard such roaring as if all the lions of Africa had been collected. I presume it proceeded from the two lionesses, who were in quest of the slain lion. We expected a visit from them during the night, and took care to prepare for it by the raising of our thorn kraal, the placing of spring-guns in the paths through which they had to come, the lighting of large fires around us, and the mounting of double watches. However they did not molest us.

"As there were no more kraals hereabout, and nothing for us to do, I resolved to return and to go in search of the kraals of the Gonnemaas.

"I was much vexed to have found, during a journey of twelve days along such a tedious and troublesome road, no more than two kraals, and which, although mustering ten Captains, were so badly provided with cattle. From this I have learned with sorrow how, by the lately-opened free traffic and the misbehaviour of these vagabonds, the whole country has been ruined: for when one kraal was robbed by the Dutch, the sufferers were driven to rob others, and these again their neighbours. With the plunder they retired into the mountains, and feasted till it was consumed, when they went again in search of other booty. And thus, from a people living in peace and happiness, divided into kraals under chiefs, and subsisting quietly by the breeding of cattle, they are become almost all of them huntsmen, *Bosjesmen*, and robbers, and are dispersed every where among the barren and rugged mountains."

"20*th*. I went with some people early to the kraal of Boatsman, to fetch the cattle we had purchased, and to try whether I could not persuade him to provide us with some more. But all my talking was in

vain, and I was obliged to return with only the nine oxen (notwithstanding that he had a fine herd) to the waggons.

"21*st*. We proceeded to the Breede River, where we found on this side three kraals, under the following Captains—

1*st*, Koekezoon, Hoere-Hama, and Thousa.
2*nd*, Prins, Houtebun, Scipio, and Reuter's father.
3*rd*, Kuyper, Jan, Harramae, Thorrobacae, and Tamboor's father.

We stopped at the kraal of Koekezoon, and sent some people with tobacco to the other Captains,—on which they came to us. We made them acquainted with the cause of our coming, and presented them with some brandy, tobacco, &c. after which they left us with the promise to barter with us the following day a good deal.

"22*nd*. They brought us altogether not more than twenty-six head of cattle, which I told them was a great deal too few for three such large kraals. We heard again the tune, that they (the vagabonds from the settlement) had robbed them of their cattle and made poor devils of them; but I demonstrated to them that they did not act with good faith, and had sent away their oxen, keeping only some cows with them, (for they were well aware that I would not barter for cows)—as was clearly shown at Scipio's kraal, where we found more than two hundred cows, and not more than ten young oxen. At last, after a whole day's talking, I got thirty-eight head, for which we paid thirty-eight pounds of tobacco, thirty-eight strings of copper beads, &c. and for eight sheep for provision, four pounds of tobacco. The captains received as a present five pounds of tobacco and six strings of beads."

After visiting a number of other kraals with similar success, the writer concludes his Journal on the eighth of December, having, in this expedition, which occupied him fifty-two days actively employed, obtained only one hundred and seventy-nine oxen. The unwillingness of the Hottentots to barter their cattle for the drugs and baubles pressed upon them by the Dutch, evinced in every instance mentioned in this Journal, seems to have been overcome chiefly by that "*genuine good nature*" which the writer candidly ascribes to them, and which, as will presently appear, had been severely tried in their intercourse with his countrymen. It appears they were ready to give him sheep for subsistence on his journey, and they only held back their cattle, because on them their families depended for support. Their expressions of friendship and respect for the Company seem to have been perfectly sincere and disinterested, nor did a single example of violence or theft occur during the whole journey. The generous bravery of the individual who threw himself between the strangers and the lion is not surpassed either in history or fable; while the plundered tribes, compelled to fight daily with the elephants and other savage beasts, in order to procure subsistence for their wives and children, present as touching a picture as can be drawn of a brave and suffering people. A few such journalists as Kupt might have saved the Hottentots from the obloquy and ruin which awaited their race; but travellers of a different description had already found their way through their hitherto peaceful country, and laid the foundation of a system of oppression and extermination.

CHAPTER III.

Views of the Dutch East-India Company respecting the Cape.—Inquiry into the transactions of a party of Boors.—Encroachments of the Colonists.—Plan of extermination sanctioned by the Government.—First Commandoes.—Singular instance of devotedness in two Bushmen.—Opperman's Commando.—Government orders.—Van der Walt.—Unwillingness of the Boors to go on Commandoes.—Bushmen shot by private persons.—Proposal to sell the Bushmen for slaves.—Effects of oppression.—Moravians.—General Dundas.

It was not the interest or the intention of the Dutch East-India Company to come to a rupture with the natives of the Cape, or to reduce them to poverty. Their object, of obtaining supplies at a cheap rate, was more readily attained by encouraging them in their pastoral occupations, and protecting them against extortion or plunder. The rapid growth of the colony, however, soon placed this beyond their power; and the successive governors, either from weakness or a want of correct information, were led, first to wink at the aggressions of the colonists, and finally to aid them in their enterprises.

So early as the year 1702, the Governor, Van der Stell, instituted an inquiry* into the conduct of a party of barterers who had penetrated to the eastward as far as the country of the Caffers. The party con-

* A copy of the evidence, of which only an abridgment is given here, is in possession of the Author.

sisted of forty-five men well armed, and provided with four waggons and thirty-two draught oxen. They passed the kloof of Hottentots' Holland on the 20th of March of the year above mentioned, and proceeding through the country of the Sousequaas, Hessequaas, Gouris, and Attaquaas, they came to the Gamptous, where they found no kraals except hordes of Bushmen, of whom they always took one or two with them bound, to show them the road till they came to the Coehesons or kraal of Captain Snel. They also found on their way five Sonqua Hottentots, whom they likewise took with them bound. On their way they had purchased, first at the kraal of Captain Koopman or the Sousequa tribe, ten head of cattle and forty sheep, and at the above-mentioned Gamptous, one calf and three sheep, for which they gave some tobacco.

Accompanied by Captain Snel as a guide and interpreter as they pretended, they advanced four days from his kraal, when they were met by the Caffers armed with assagais and shields, who, having got intelligence of the approach of the Dutch, had come out in this manner to "massacre" them, as they were afterwards informed. From whom they obtained this subsequent information they neglect to say; but they were surprised and attacked early in the morning as they were busy getting ready their pack-oxen; on which they all ran to their guns and fired among the assailants to intimidate them. On this the Caffers retired for about half an hour, when they came back and attacked them again, but after a smart skirmish, the Caffers took to flight, and were pursued by the Dutch for two or three leagues. A great number of the Caffers were killed,

in one place twenty, and in others two, three, and more having been seen lying together dead. One was taken alive, and afterwards beaten to death by the Hottentots, at the command of the Dutch. The latter lost one man, who was killed by an assagai. They assign as a reason for not following and pursuing the Caffers farther, that they were short of powder, ball, and provisions, and their draught-cattle began to die.

After this skirmish they remained at the place till the following morning, when they returned to the kraal of Captain Snel, where they had left their waggons. Being furnished by this captain with a Hottentot to assist in guiding them to the kraals of the Horisons and Gonaquaas, they came to the kraal of Kannow, belonging to the former tribe, by night. This kraal being surrounded with bushes, they lay quiet among them till the break of day, when, being rather short of provisions, they formed the design to surprise it; and accordingly they fired into it two shots with ball to frighten the Hottentots, who immediately took to flight, leaving all their cattle, about seventy head, behind them; the whole of which the Dutch took with them, except a few calves which they could not drive along. Continuing their march with the stolen cattle, after fourteen or fifteen days travel, they came to the kraals of the Gonaquaas, and, lying quiet during the night, as on the former occasion, they hastened at day-break to beset and surround them, commencing the attack by rapidly firing into the kraals; upon which the inhabitants, as well as they could, took to flight, the Dutch continuing to fire at the flying Hottentots till they became masters of their flocks and herds. These they took as lawful prey, amounting to about two thousand two hundred head of

cattle, and two thousand five hundred sheep. Remaining all night at this place they sent for the Hottentots, had some talk with them, and at their earnest request, and after long supplication, they gave them back forty head of old cows and a small flock of sheep, to enable them to breed again some cattle for their subsistence. They also presented them with some tobacco, beads, and other trifles. In the kraal of the first-mentioned tribe, namely the Horisons, no people were killed, because they had too quickly taken to flight. In the last, several men, women, and children were shot, but their number is not known. Fourteen days afterwards, on their homeward journey, this party of barterers separated, and divided the cattle amongst them, having first drawn up and signed an agreement, by which they bound themselves not to betray one another. This agreement was written on a blank leaf at the end of a certain book called "THE CHRISTIAN NAVIGATION.*"

By such expeditions, which became more and more frequent as the boundaries of the settlement were extended, and by the constant demand for cattle on behalf of the Company, the Hottentots were soon reduced to a state of great indigence. They were now in a very different situation from that in which they had been found by the Dutch; when, possessing more territory than they required for their own use, and caring little whether they were situate in the neighbourhood of a bay, or were inclosed within a range of inaccessible mountains, provided they found grass for their herds and flocks, they could view without jealousy the

* A popular work by the Rev. J. Flavel, which appears to have been translated into the Dutch language soon after its publication.

encroachments of the colonists. While they were treated by their new visiters with apparent fairness and a certain show of kindness, these simple children of nature readily conceded to them as a boon, or for a trifling recompense, what they would have defended with their lives had attempts been made to deprive them of it by force. Ignorant of the insatiable and boundless desires of a rising community of mercantile adventurers, they had welcomed them with the generosity which marked their character, and which disposed them to share with their friends and allies all that their own necessities did not require. Thus they had permitted a power to gain stability among them, which never became an object of their dread till it could no longer be opposed. Finding themselves at last confined, harassed, pressed upon, and plundered on all sides, and perceiving that no union of their strength against the colonists would avail, they divided themselves into smaller parties, hoping thus more easily to find the means of subsistence, and to preserve from their oppressors the little property which they had still remaining. With this view, such of them as preferred famine itself to slavery, with the few sheep and goats left them, retired to the mountains, or to the most barren and uninviting parts of the deserts; and those who remained in the fertile territory gradually lost their independence, sinking into servitude as herdsmen and domestics of the boors. Nor were the former long protected by their seclusion against the cupidity of their encroaching neighbours.

The flattering and fabulous accounts of the new colony published by Kolben, drew thither every day new settlers from the mother-country; and this influx of

strangers, together with the children born to the former colonists, occasioned an increasing demand for new lands and servants. Every addition of territory requiring additional hands to cultivate it, the colonists, after having deprived the poor natives of their springs of water, now penetrated into the deserts and mountains to seize their women and children, and to reduce them to slavery on the lands which their husbands and fathers had occupied as a free and independent people. The aborigines, who had for a long time suffered with exemplary patience the injuries inflicted upon them, finding that no retreat could protect them from the cruelties of their oppressors, sought resources of annoyance from the desperate condition to which they were reduced; and the colonists, smarting under the reaction of the accumulated evils they had heaped upon them during the space of seventy years, and which could no longer be endured, formed the project of making the colonial government a party in assisting them to enslave or exterminate all that remained of the original inhabitants. But to attempt so monstrous a project as this, or even openly to seize the property of a whole nation, without some alleged provocation or imminent necessity, would, in all probability, have excited the disapprobation of the governor, and retarded the accomplishment of their design. They sent, therefore, to the seat of government the most vilifying representations, imputing to the Bushmen the most depraved and pernicious propensities, and accusing them of incessantly plundering the property of the colonists. The government, which had by this time (1770) declined from the purity of its principles, was misled by the force of these charges, aided, perhaps, by a share of

the colonial habits of feeling with respect to the natives which it had by this time acquired: this scheme of the colonists was therefore speedily authorized; and it was not long before the administration entered as warmly into it as the colonists themselves: for we find that in the year 1774, the whole race of Bushmen, or Hottentots, who had not submitted to servitude, was ordered to be seized or extirpated; the privilege of slavery was designed exclusively for the women and children; the men, whose natural habits disqualified them for the purposes of the colonists, and whose revenge was probably dreaded, were destined to death.

The decision of government was followed by an order for the raising of three *Commandoes*, or military parties, to proceed against this unfortunate race. These were usually raised by the different field-cornets, who collected the colonists on the frontier in their respective jurisdictions, having one commandant over the whole. They were to be armed, and to scour the neighbouring country to discover the abodes of the Bushmen; and when they espied a kraal, they were to surprise it if possible, and, singling out the men, to shoot them. The surviving women and children were to be divided and shared among the members of the expedition, or distributed among the neighbouring farmers.

There is no record remaining to show the district to which the first commando was sent, or how long it continued in the field; but it appears that the party engaged in this service in the month of September, 1774, in the space of eight days succeeded in shooting ninety-six Bushmen. The women and children taken prisoners were divided among the men, but their number

is not specified in the official report. Van Wyk was the name of the commandant.

The second commando was conducted by a Boor named Marais. In his report to the Colonial Office, he states that he had taken one hundred and eighteen prisoners, who, it is presumed, must have been women and children, but the number killed is not mentioned.

The third commando, under Vander Merwe, was commissioned to the Bokkeveld, where they destroyed one hundred and forty-two Bushmen. Whether his humanity was shocked at his sanguinary employment, the duration of which, to fulfil the purposes of government, must then have appeared indefinite, or whether he dreaded their superior numbers, is uncertain; but in violation of his instructions, he concluded a peace with the remaining chiefs. The government, on hearing of this transaction, highly resented it, and degraded all the field-cornets who had concurred with him in the measure. And on the following year these expeditions appear to have been repeated twice; one, on the 12th of June, succeeded in killing forty-eight of the devoted Bushmen, and would have followed up the carnage had not their numbers been insufficient. The number of wounded would, in all likelihood, greatly exceed that of the slain on these occasions, as they never ceased to run or scramble among the rocks in search of hiding places, till life forsook them; appearing to dread being taken more than death itself.

To convey a clear idea of the manner in which the commando system was carried on, I shall subjoin an extract from a journal of Van Jaarsveld, addressed to the landdrost of Stellenbosch. After mentioning the names of the persons whom he had under his com-

mand, the place at which they met, and the names of the individuals who had refused to accompany him on the expedition, he goes on to state as follows:—

" *August 4th,* 1775. We proceeded in a north-east direction to the upper end of the Sea-cow River, when we met, unawares, one of these cattle plunderers, and also saw a great many of these thieves at a distance. In order to create no suspicion in the mind of the thief whom we had caught, we behaved peaceably to him in order to get the other thieves * in our power. Wherefore it was thought good by every one in the commando to inform this Bushman, that we came as friends, and were only journeying to the above-mentioned river to kill sea-cows (hippopotami). We gave him a pipe and tobacco, and sent him to his companions to offer them our peace, that they also might come to us to show us the right road to that river. But we have not seen that thief since.

" *5th.* Journeyed north-east along the Sea-cow River, with the commando, to Eiland's-Drift, when we saw fires on the way burning in various directions, where they had driven the cattle, which we knew were the signals they made that a commando was coming.

" *6th.* Took twelve men and two waggons, with which I went to Rondekop; when on the road we unexpectedly met with five thieves, and addressed them in the same way as we did the first one; and as a token of peace, we killed a sea-cow for them at the Kop.

" *7th.* Sixteen Bushmen came to us at Rondekop from the mountains to the south, when we killed some

* These " thieves," it must be remembered, were the original inhabitants of the country, and had been, shortly before this period, plundered and proscribed by the Dutch.

more sea-cows, to entice the thieves with their flesh, because I knew no other way to pay them for their continual murdering and stealing our cattle. I thus left the bait, and departed with our men to Blauwe-Bank.

"8th. Killed twelve sea-cows, and ordered, through the medium of the Bushmen I had with me, my men whom I had left at Eiland's-Drift to join me, which they did about sunset.

"9th. We remained at the place where we had killed the sea-cows, until another party of Bushmen came to us, whom I questioned, through the interpreter, where their captain lived. They answered, that "he lived in the Roodebergen (Red Mountains)." I told them they ought to go to call their captain to show us the way to the Great River (Gariep). They answered it would be useless; for they knew assuredly he would not come. I immediately concluded it might be because all the stolen cattle were driven in that direction. Shortly after something was heard by us like the firing of muskets, whence we surmised that some of the thieves had gone back, and again stolen cattle, and that the men who remained at home had assembled and retaken the stolen cattle, which I believe the Bushmen we had with us also supposed. I was confirmed in this my supposition on the following morning, because they all secretly left us during the night, and went to their hiding-places.

"10th. Proceeded from Blauwe-Bank along the river about two hours, with the whole commando, to a place called by us Keerom, whence, the manners of the natives being known to me by experience, I dispatched, the same evening, some spies to Blauwe-Bank, to learn whether the Bushmen were not with the sea-cows;

for they will always assemble in the night where they know something is to be had.

"About midnight the spies returned, saying, they had seen a great number of Bushmen there, when I immediately repaired thither with the commando, waiting till day-break, which soon appeared; and having divided the commando into parties, we slew the thieves, and, on searching, found one hundred and twenty-two dead; five escaped by swimming across the river.

"After counting the slain, we examined their goods, to see whether any thing could be found whereby it might be ascertained that they were plunderers; when ox-hides and horns were found, which they were carrying with them for daily use."

The ideas entertained by this commandant of the nature of his expedition, are sufficiently illustrated by the tone of his journal. It was to extirpate the "thieves;" but he has failed to record a single fact to show how they merited this title. The ox-hides and horns found among them after the massacre afford no proof of their guilt, as these might have been the produce of their own flocks before they were plundered by the colonists, or they might have been honestly obtained from the frontier Boors or Hottentots.

This expedition a few days after, having surrounded a kraal, fired upon it, and either killed or made captive the whole. Two spies were, about the same time, sent out with two Bushmen, who had promised to show where some of their countrymen were concealed. But these Bushmen, instead of conducting them right, only deceived them. A few days afterwards, therefore, seven other spies were sent out with them; and they were

assured that, in case of a second failure, they should certainly suffer death; but if they pointed out their comrades, they would as certainly be spared. After proceeding about an hour, the Bushmen, resolved not to betray their countrymen, fell upon the ground, and on being commanded to rise, behaved as if they were dead. When no answer could be obtained from them, blows were inflicted, but as their determination was inflexible, and the invaders could not remove them, they slew them on the spot. As the Bushmen were fully aware of the consequences of their resolution, their conduct was an instance of patriotism not surpassed by any thing in ancient or modern history. But the individuals who composed the expedition appear to have been utterly incapable of appreciating this magnanimous action; and it failed to save those in whose behalf it was performed: for the spies, having ascertained their places of refuge, conducted the whole commando thither; and early in the morning firing into their caves, they suffered not an individual to escape. Forty-three were killed, and seven children made captives, who informed them that a captain was among the slain, but not the chief captain who had the command over the whole Sea-cow River. The commandant, having informed the government that he was in great want of powder and lead, received, in consequence, fifteen hundred pounds of powder, three thousand pounds of lead, and three thousand flints.

In the year 1777 several commandoes were sent against the Bushmen. One, under the command of Opperman, met with a kraal in which were three hundred men, but, his number being small, he killed only twenty. Anxious, however, for greater means of de-

struction, having informed government of the fact, he sent a letter, signed by six-and-twenty colonists, stating that two commandoes had been sent against the Bushmen, but their numbers were so great that they could not subdue them, and that, in consequence, many farmers had been compelled to leave the Sneeuwberg for Bruintjes-Hoogte. This application had the desired effect. Orders were instantly issued that the colonists on the frontier should renew their attempts to extirpate this proscribed race, and many Bushmen were sacrificed.

About this time the governor of the colony took a journey into the interior, and finding the system there adopted insufficient to extirpate the Bushmen, he ordered, on his return, the commandoes to be increased, and directed, in the most positive manner, that this unhappy race should be destroyed.

In the year 1779 the commando system was carried on with great vigour. Most of the reports are lost, but from what remains we learn that one hundred and fifteen Bushmen were killed, while the orders of government for their entire extermination were repeated so peremptorily, that it is matter of surprise that the whole country was not depopulated.

In the month of March, at a meeting of his court at Stellenbosch, the Landdrost mentioned that depredations had been committed by the Bushmen, and that he had thought fit, for their utter extirpation, to order several field-cornets, with one half of their men, to form a joint corps, under the direction of one of their number who should be chosen by lot, assisted by another officer also chosen by lot, who should be in the field at least one month; and after the return of this corps the other half of their men were to be commanded on a similar expedition, with officers chosen in the same manner.

These officers were enjoined to take strict notice, and to report concerning those who, being required for these expeditions, were unwilling and disobedient, that they might be punished according to law; and, in case of neglect, the officers were to be responsible.

For several successive years this system was carried on with various success, as the Bushmen became more cautious as well as more resolute in their resistance, and government from time to time granted supplies of ammunition. The reports, however, are missing; but the numbers slain must have been very great, since, besides those killed by the commandoes, many were shot by private hands.

In 1785, the Commandant Villiers reports that cattle would soon be scarce, unless government resorted to more effective measures with the Bushmen; and he submitted to the Governor and Council the propriety of making a grant of the land between Plettenberg's Baaken and the Zak river, to be held in perpetual quit rent by those who had been most zealous in the depopulation of the Bushman country, and for which nothing was to be paid the first ten years, but afterwards the annual sum of twenty-four rix dollars. This was readily complied with, and a grant of ammunition ordered for a commando to clear the country for its intended inhabitants. Two years previous to this, two field-cornets, having reported that they had killed sixty-seven Bushmen, and taken twenty-two prisoners, declared that they were unable to do greater execution for want of powder and lead. "The Bushmen," they observe, "live in the mountains like baboons; we may fire fifty or an hundred times before we kill one. We therefore apply most humbly to you to send us six

hundred pounds of gunpowder, and twelve hundred pounds of lead." They had ordered a commando to be ready in case government complied with this demand.

In 1787 the landdrost and military court of Graaff-Reinet sent out a very strong commando, divided into five parties, with orders to march to different parts of the country, "*and destroy at once that pernicious nation.*" Intelligence of this was sent to Stellenbosch to the landdrost and district court there, with a request that they would co-operate efficiently with them. What was the result of this irruption into the Bushman country there are no reports extant to declare; but as the Stellenbosch district then included the whole of Tulbagh or Worcester, and consequently reached the limits of the Graaff-Reinet district, the frontiers of the two districts extended the whole length of the territory belonging to the Bushmen, and their entire destruction seemed almost inevitable.

On Tuesday, the 7th of June, 1791, a report was forwarded to government by the commandant Nel, signed by the inhabitants of the Hantam district, stating that, on account of the continued plundering by the Bushmen, many had been obliged to quit their places, and to retire to other spots. In consequence of this communication, it was resolved to write to the field-cornets of the Elephants' River and Kamiesberg in Namaqualand, Frans Lubbe, J. A. Van den Herer, and T. Nieuwhout, to collect as great a number of men as possible, especially Bastaards and Hottentots, to form a strong commando, in conjunction with the commandant Nel, to attack with united efforts the Bushmen in their concealments, and, if possible, entirely to de-

stroy and extirpate them. In giving these instructions, the government expressed the hope that he would be able to give a good account of his success.

In 1792 an expedition was undertaken against the Bushmen occupying that district of the country which lies between the Tulbagh district and the Zak River, under the command of Van der Walt. The following is a copy of the Report to Government of his success.

"*27th of September.* Attacked the first kraal, Kourassie, killed seventy-five Bushmen, took twenty-one prisoners. Found one hundred and fifty wethers, thirteen head of cattle, and one musket."

"*15th of October.* Discovered another kraal; killed eighty-five Bushmen, took twenty-three prisoners; one hundred and twenty-four wethers."

20th. Discovered a third kraal; killed eleven; three prisoners."

"*24th.* Discovered a fourth kraal; killed seven; four prisoners."

Towards the latter end of the year 1793, complaints were made against this Van der Walt to government, that he arrogated too much power to himself; that he was continually commanding people from the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet to destroy the Bushmen; and that he said that government had delegated that power to him, of the truth of which they wished to be informed. To which government answered, that it was not their meaning that Van der Walt should raise strong commandoes without their consent; but it being the intention of Van der Walt to go and live in the Nieuweveld, and amongst other things, especially for the purpose of being enabled, with the assistance of his family, entirely to root out and

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS...

destroy the plundering Bushmen,—Government had thought fit to authorize him, whenever he saw any of these Bushmen, to order out armed men, that he might immediately attack and destroy them, without its being necessary first to write to the landdrost and await his orders.

It appears that Van der Walt undertook the destruction of the Bushmen in that district on the principle understood between himself and the colonial government, that he was to have the Nieuweveld as a reward for his services ; and it was granted to him by government on that ground in 1793, and on the condition that he was to continue his exertions to extirpate the Bushmen.

On the twenty-fifth of November, 1793, the field cornet, William Burger, writes that he had killed thirty-two Bushmen and taken eleven prisoners; that more would have been killed, but his party, being too few in number, durst not pursue them, He goes on to state the names of those who were unwilling to accompany him. These were immediately ordered to appear, and hear sentence pronounced against them.

On the second of June, 1795, government increased the quantity of ammunition granted to the field cornet, Jasper Cloete. In 1794, it was fifty pounds of gunpowder and one hundred pounds of lead; in this year it was increased to two hundred pounds of gunpowder and four hundred pounds of lead. In the same year the government of the Cape fell into the hands of the English.

It is not to be imagined that, from what has been stated in this chapter, any adequate idea is intended to be conveyed of the extent of the massacres committed upon the Bushmen. Hostilities never ceased for a

day between them and their implacable enemies, who considered the murder of a free Bushman, wherever found and under whatever circumstances, as a duty or a meritorious act; while, by the capture of their women and children, the murderers increased their stock of slaves and dependents. In their hunting parties, or when travelling across the country for pleasure or on business, the boors massacred these natives as game or as noxious animals; and it is not improbable, that the numbers killed by the regular commandoes fall short of those murdered by private individuals. "A farmer," says Barrow in 1797, "thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action than the murder of one of these people. A boor from Graaff-Reinet, being asked in the Secretary's office a few days before we left town, if the savages were numerous or troublesome on the road, replied, 'he had only shot four,' with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges. I myself have heard one of the humane colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate wretches."

The backwardness which began to manifest itself about this period among the farmers to go on commandoes against the Bushmen, was shown chiefly by those who resided at a distance from the frontier, and arose partly from the fatigue and loss of time they occasioned, and partly from their no longer feeling any interest in the division of the captives; those already obtained, with the addition of their slaves and Hottentot bondmen, being sufficient for all their wants. They thought it hard to be dragged from their families, for whose protection against their newly tamed domestics their presence might be necessary, to encounter long night

marches through a parched and barren country, together with the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, merely to conquer a farm for such heroes as Van der Walt. To this cause, and not to any deficiency of courage, much less to any feelings of humanity, no trace of which is to be found in Bushman warfare, candour compels us to ascribe the defection of the boors on this occasion; for though the condition of those who were made prisoners was, in fact, worse than that of slavery, yet, not being transferable property, they were considered as of less value than slaves. Accordingly, an attempt was made at Graaff-Reinet to induce the government to grant them leave to sell such Bushmen as should be taken prisoners, on condition of ten rix-dollars being paid into the treasury for every such slave sold. This proposal, "made" as it is stated in the records, "for the purpose of rousing the military ardour of the farmers, which of late was observed to have abated," was unanimously carried in the council, but it did not receive the sanction of the government at the Cape *.

The effect of this system upon the Bushmen was to transform them from peaceable, contented, and useful neighbours and visiters, into ferocious and vindictive enemies, till they rivalled, in some measure, the colonists themselves in cruelty and rapacity. Stripped of their plains and fountains, deprived of their flocks and herds, and finally, robbed of their wives and children, and, followed with the rifle, even to their hiding places among the caverns and holes of the rocks, they had few resources besides plunder, no gratification but revenge. "One of them," says Mr. Barrow, "repre-

* Barrow's Travels, vol. i., p. 191.

sented to us the condition of his countrymen as truly deplorable. That for several months in the year, when the frost and snow prevented them from making their excursions against the farmers, their sufferings from cold and want of food were indescribable; that they frequently beheld their wives and children perishing with hunger, without being able to give them any relief. The good season even brought little alleviation to their misery. They knew themselves to be hated by all mankind, and that every nation around them was an enemy planning their destruction. Not a breath of wind rustled through the leaves, not a bird screamed, that were not supposed to announce danger. Hunted thus like beasts of prey, and ill treated in the service of the farmers, he said that they considered themselves driven to desperation. The burden of their song was vengeance against the Dutch!"

When the Cape fell into the hands of the English in 1795, the condition of the Aborigines formed a strong contrast with that peaceful and independent state in which they had been found by the Dutch. In the course of about a century and a half, the Hottentots had been despoiled of their lands, robbed or cajoled out of their flocks and herds, and, with a few exceptions reduced to personal servitude, under circumstances which rendered them more wretched and more helpless than the slaves with whom they were now associated. The numerous free villages with which the country had abounded, had almost entirely disappeared, and the few paltry and miserable hordes who had established themselves in some of the districts, had no longer the power of choosing their own chiefs. To this office none were now appointed but by the governor of the new settlement, who was never personally

acquainted with the character or merits of those on whom his choice fell. The farmer nearest the horde generally solicited the nomination for one of his creatures, whom he could trust, and who would, on this account, be always ready with all his vassals for his service. "From that moment," says Vaillant, "his melancholy horde, which for a long time has lost its national name, assumes that of its new chief, who has been set over it. They will then say, the horde of Captain Kees, who becomes to the governor a new creature, a new spy, and a new slave, and to his own countrymen a new tyrant."

Those dispersed among the farmers as servants were still more miserable. Having no protector, and his master no superior at hand to check his excesses, the unfortunate bondman was urged to incessant toil by the infliction of the most cruel and revolting punishments. Though nominally a free man, blows and stripes could be heaped upon him as on a slave, at the caprice of his master; and as the latter lost nothing by his mutilation or death, these were not unfrequently the result of his hasty or deliberate vengeance. Nor were they at liberty to choose their employment or their masters. Government had directed that any Dutch peasant should be allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service, to whom he had given in their infancy a morsel of bread. Should a Hottentot, therefore, who had engaged himself for a year, attempt to remove at the expiration of his term, he would be permitted, or perhaps driven away, but his children, who had been encouraged to enter the house of the boor, and to receive a morsel of food, were detained *. By

* See Barrow's Travels, passim.

this means, in general, the whole family were eventually bound as with a chain.

The degradation of the Hottentot character was the necessary result of such treatment. A deep and habitual gloom and depression of spirits took place of that hilarity which had formerly distinguished them. Their indolence increased to a degree hardly credible, and they became more and more addicted to gluttony and drunkenness. For this last vice they were indebted entirely to their new masters. Their numbers began greatly to decline, the very structure of their bodies was said to have shrunk, and to have lost its force and agility, and the whole race seemed rapidly hastening to annihilation.

On the outskirts of the colony, and on some tracts of land of inferior quality, which the boors had not yet thought fit to appropriate, a few hordes under their respective captains still enjoyed a sort of permitted independence. But they were too sensible of their weakness to resist the encroachments of the meanest colonist. "For want of strength and power," said one of these captains to Sparrman, "the Hottentots are now no longer in a condition to withstand the encroachments of the colonists; almost every day some Hottentot or other being obliged to remove with his cattle, whenever the pasture he was in possession of happened to suit a colonist. The Hottentot captains had, indeed, formerly been left undisturbed in their possessions; but now they had likewise elbowed him (though a captain appointed to that office by government) out of a more eligible situation; and even began to grudge him the meagre and parched fields he was in possession of nearer the sea-shore, notwithstanding that they were

extremely dangerous for sheep and cattle, both on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, and its being exposed to the incursions of wild beasts *."

Yet this oppressed and persecuted people were daily rendering the most essential services to the colonists. The protection of their numerous herds and flocks was entirely committed to their care. In deserts infested by wild beasts, and on plains where not a tree or shrub could be found to protect him from the vertical rays of the sun, or to shield him against the frosts and snows of winter, the faithful Hottentot wandered with his charge in search of food or water, a task which, but for him, must have devolved on his ungrateful master, and his slothful children. But the Cape farmer had already got a taste for slaves, which, once being excited, speedily stifles every idea of natural justice †.

No attempts had been made to improve their moral condition, to restrain their passions, or to refine their appetites. In this respect they had evidently degenerated since their intercourse with Europeans. But they still retained their characteristic and apparently unconscious adherence to truth, which is generally the first of the virtues that disappears before the frown of an absolute master; and that generosity which is never satisfied so long as a morsel of food remains undivided among his companions, still distinguished the simple and improvident Hottentot. As for religion, it was considered a serious crime to mention the subject to a native. They were not admitted within the walls of the churches. By a notice stuck above the doors of one of the churches, "Hottentots and *dogs*" were forbidden to enter.

* Sparrman, vol. i., p. 241. † Barrow's Travels, passim.

Such was the state of the natives within the settled districts of the colony. It was surrounded on the north and east by tribes of savages, driven to subsist on plunder by the predatory excursions of the boors, or exasperated to the highest pitch of ferocity by their repeated attacks and massacres. The Namaqua Hottentots, formerly inhabiting the Nieuweveld, the Bokkeveld, and the Roggeveld, worn out by the repeated robberies committed upon them by the colonists, retired into the immense deserts stretching from the Kamiesberg to the bay of Angra Pequina, on the south-west coast of Africa. There they might have expected to have been allowed to remain, with the few cattle left them, unmolested, but the cupidity and violence which drove them from their springs of water, followed them occasionally into these waste regions, and they speak with horror of the scenes which usually took place when the white men surprised their kraals to capture their women, their children, and their cattle. The Corannas and Bushmen were in similar circumstances, plundering the frontier boors to-day, hunted down and shot by the boors to-morrow. On the east, the Caffers and the colonists were constantly coming into hostile collision, and inflicting on each other mutual injuries.

Such was the wretched condition of the natives within and around the borders of the colony; and as it was said to have arisen in a great measure from the weakness of the Dutch government, which found itself unable to check the fierce spirit of the frontier boors, now confident in their numbers and remote situation, so as to be ready on any occasion to assert their independence, it was to be expected the new government, whose fault certainly was not its weakness, would speedily restore

order, and assert the violated rights of humanity. If the natives were not deemed entirely incapable of being civilized, it was clearly for the benefit of all parties to adopt or to patronise every rational scheme for reclaiming them from their savage state, in which they were not only useless, but hurtful to the community. Powder and ball, the only means hitherto adopted for reducing them to peace, had only rendered them more ferocious, as far as regarded the tribes on the frontier; and the poor dejected Hottentots, who had been reduced to servitude, were decreasing every day in numbers and usefulness; and not to mention the light which had been thrown on the subject by various writers worthy of the highest respect, the records existing in the government offices were alone sufficient to excite the immediate attention of the new possessors of the Cape.

So early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the wrongs sustained by the natives in their intercourse with the colonists had become so great, as to excite the interference of the Dutch government. On the representation of the governor, Van der Stell, to the East India Company, respecting the injurious conduct of the barterers, as they were called, the trade with the natives had been made a monopoly of government itself, and the colonists were entirely excluded from the market*. This measure, originating in a narrow policy, at variance with the more enlightened general principles on which it had acted in legislating for its other colonial possessions in other parts of the globe, was not so successful as it was well intended. Competition being now excluded, every article had its price fixed

* Sparrman, vol. i. p. 213.

upon it by the purchaser, and the only result which in the end flowed from this new regulation, was to put into the hands of the agents of government advantages formerly shared by the colonists in general. In 1775 a law existed in the colony, prohibiting all Christians, under the pain of being whipped and branded, to buy, or otherwise to acquire the possession of any animal belonging to a Hottentot. The orders for the murderous commandoes, and the shocking reports containing the numbers killed or taken prisoners by the different commandants, were also subjects of record; and Mr. Barrow, who held a high colonial appointment under the English government in the year 1797, laid fully open this system of oppression so far as the Dutch colonists were concerned.

Some time previous to this period, also, the Moravian Brethren had formed a small establishment in the district of Swellendam, with a view to reclaim the people from their wandering habits, and to instruct them in the arts of civilized life and the principles of Christianity; and their success, though limited, had already demonstrated that the thing was practicable.

General Dundas was the first English governor who seems to have been impressed with the necessity of interfering between the natives and their oppressors. The rebellious conduct of some of the boors, and their defiance of the constituted authorities, made him less ready to listen to their representations respecting the degraded and mischievous character ascribed to the Hottentots, although it does not appear that he ever had leisure to mature any effective scheme for the amelioration and eventual emancipation of this people. He gave, however, a favourable reception to the mis-

sionaries sent to the Cape by the London Missionary Society, who came to labour in the same field with the Moravians, but with greater force; and their united efforts in behalf of the aborigines from this period form the principal feature in the history of the latter.

CHAPTER IV.

Missions.—Dr. Vanderkemp undertakes a mission to the Caffers.—Disturbances in the Colony.--He visits Gaika.--Returns to Graaff-Reinet.—Insurrection of the Boors.—Vanderkemp's Letter to General Dundas.—He proceeds towards Algoa Bay to form a Station.—Klaas Stuurman.—Missionary Settlement near Algoa Bay.—Stuurman leaves the disaffected chiefs and flies to Conga.—Van der Walt attacks the Hottentots.—Interference of Government.—Good conduct of Klaas Stuurman.—Barrow's account of him.—Successes of the Hottentots.—Hatred of the Boors.

It was about the commencement of the year 1798, that the attention of the directors of the London Missionary Society was called to South Africa as a promising sphere for missionary labours, and suitable instruments seem to have been provided in Doctor Vanderkemp and his coadjutors. The circumstances, the talents, and the character of this remarkable individual, naturally pointed him out as the fittest person for being placed at the head of this Mission. His reputation for literary attainments stood high; he had studied at the Universities of Leyden and Edinburgh, and having in his youth chosen the army as a profession, he had attained the rank of captain of horse. After being sixteen years in the service of the Prince of Orange, and with the highest promotion within his reach, a personal misunderstanding with the Prince, with whom he was intimate, induced him to resign his commission, and to make choice of another profession.

Having taken the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, he returned to his native country, and established himself at Middleburgh as a physician.

While at Edinburgh, his talents attracted the particular notice and procured him the friendship of Doctors Monro and Gregory; and his thesis, when he stood for his diploma, was remembered, and spoken of with high commendation by several of the medical professors, when the circumstance of his offering himself as a missionary made him the subject of general conversation. His talents and high reputation as a physician procured for him an extensive practice. He was made a colonel of militia, and afterwards appointed surgeon-general of the forces at the breaking out of the French Revolution. The writings he has left, show him to have been an accomplished scholar, and his attainments in science appear to have been equal to his acquirements in literature. Judging from the notes he has left on Bayle's Dictionary, and a few treatises on metaphysical subjects, he appears to have possessed considerable talents for such inquiries; but with a taste for the German school he imbibed all the infidel errors of that philosophy; and, while he was blaspheming the name of the Saviour, and writing against the divine authority of the Scriptures, (we have it under his own hand) he fully believed that he was pleasing God.

With the infidel notions then fashionable on the continent, Doctor Vanderkemp did not imbibe the sentiments respecting civil government with which they were generally associated. He was a warm admirer of monarchy, and was shocked by the French Revolution. It was not till he embraced Christianity, that he saw

the share that his favourite philosophy had in producing the crimes connected with that event.

From the errors of scepticism, into which he had been drawn by the delusions of a false philosophy, he was awakened by a dreadful domestic calamity, namely, the upsetting of a boat, by which his own life was placed in the greatest jeopardy, and his wife and child were drowned *. Under such circumstances, the consolations of infidelity have often been tried, but they have always been found unavailing; the need of some remedy, in the hour of affliction, is confessed by all, but infidelity offers none. It subverts other systems, but it substitutes nothing satisfactory in their place.

The melancholy bereavement to which he had been subjected, together with singular circumstances relating to his own escape, produced an entire change in his sentiments and conduct, and a desire to be useful to his fellow-creatures took full possession of his mind. An address published by the directors of the London Missionary Society was the means of leading him to offer himself as a missionary. The zeal and disinterestedness of this offer are the more remarkable, when we consider that Dr. Vanderkemp was, at this time, advanced in years, had retired from the duties of his profession, and was employing his leisure in literary pursuits, and possessed a good property. After the directors of the London Missionary Society had made the necessary inquiries respecting his character, and received the most unexceptionable testimonials, they accepted his offer, and he sailed for Africa in the beginning of December, 1798.

* See Missionary Register, vol. i., p. 356.

Dr. Vanderkemp was accompanied to Africa by Mr. Kicherer, an ordained clergyman of the Dutch church, and by Messrs. Edwards and Edmonds. The mind of Vanderkemp had been particularly directed to Cafferland, as a scene of missionary labours; and it was the intention of all the missionaries to proceed thither on their arrival in Africa: but the destination of Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards was changed in consequence of the request of some Bushmen, who, a few weeks before the arrival of the missionaries, had come to Cape Town to solicit teachers to instruct them in the Christian religion.

The missionaries received much kindness from General Dundas, the lieutenant-governor of the colony, who assured them of his countenance and protection; and also from many of the colonists, who furnished them with waggons, oxen, and provision for their journey.

The state of things in that part of the colony through which Dr. Vanderkemp had to pass on his journey to Cafferland was at that time very critical. The colonists of the interior were, in general, dissatisfied with the English government; whilst the Hottentots, who had been much oppressed by them, had generally attached themselves to it for protection. In consequence of this attachment the farmers had treated them with increased cruelty; and the uncertainty of the English government keeping possession of the Cape appears to have prevented, for some time, any effectual means being taken either to protect them or to subdue the insurrections of the farmers. Many Hottentots, therefore, fled into Cafferland, leaving their families and cattle behind them; but having no means of support,

they combined with the Caffers to attack the colonists, and to rescue their own families and cattle, expecting in this way to obtain the redress of their grievances. General Vandeleur, with a considerable number of English troops, and a large body of farmers, was sent into the Zuurveld (now Albany) to subdue the Hottentots and Caffers, but effected nothing. A lieutenant, with a strong party of soldiers, was cut off by them. The landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, finding the inefficiency of commandoes to restore peace to the disturbed districts, entreated Dr. Vanderkemp, on his arrival at that place, to settle in the Zuurveld to instruct the Hottentots; but his mind was so much bent on visiting Cafferland, and his desire of benefiting that nation was so great, that he could not be prevailed on to relinquish, without first making an experiment, his long-cherished and favourite object. He accordingly proceeded through this troubled district, but finding that he could not, at this period, carry his plan into execution, he abandoned it till he should find a more favourable opportunity.

The difficulties, however, by which his first efforts were rendered abortive, occasioned no abatement of his zeal; and he seized the first opportunity of renewing his attempt. He applied to Gaika (the Caffer chief acknowledged by the English government) for liberty to remain in his country, who, after some hesitation and delay, acceded to his application. The cautious and suspicious conduct manifested in this instance by Gaika, arose from the insinuations of some of the colonists, who did every thing in their power to obstruct the success of the missionaries.

Having obtained from Gaika the possession of a piece of ground, he erected a temporary habitation upon it,

planted a garden, prepared some corn land, and commenced his instructions among the people.

Although little impression appears to have been made on the minds of the Caffers by his labours while he resided with them, yet that his residence among them was not in vain will be seen by the subsequent narrative. He continued his exertions about eighteen months, under many difficulties, and constantly exposed to danger from the disaffected colonists and Caffers. The only comfort which he enjoyed during this period was in witnessing a favourable change which took place in several Hottentots then residing in that country.

The anxiety he felt for the progress of these people in religion induced him to accompany them when they left Cafferland; and after wandering about with them for some time in the Bushman country, constantly exposed to the attacks of that exasperated race, he returned to Graaff-Reinet. On his arrival at that place he found two additional missionaries, come from England to assist him. They had already commenced instructing the slaves and Hottentots in the church which Mr. Maynier, the Commissioner of the district, had allowed them to make use of for that purpose. In this good work Dr. Vanderkemp joined them, and great multitudes of Hottentots flocked to Graaff-Reinet to receive instruction, and seek a refuge from the enmity of the boors. Their labours were attended with success; but while they thus advanced the degraded people to whom they ministered, a fresh cause of offence was given to the colonists.

During the residence of Dr. Vanderkemp in Cafferland, the disaffection which had manifested itself among the colonists had increased, and they now seized on the

pretext of the Commissioner having allowed the slaves and Hottentots to be taught in the church, to take up arms. They complained that government protected the Hottentots and Caffers, and encouraged them to rob and murder the colonists; that they were instructed in reading and writing, and thereby put on a level with Christians; and they particularly complained, that they were permitted to hold their meetings in the church of Graaff-Reinet. On the approach of the rebels to the village, the Commissioner sent to hear their demands, which were, that the slaves and Hottentots should be excluded from the church, which should be purified by having the seats washed, and the pavement broken up, and that those Hottentots who had murdered their relatives should be given up to them. To satisfy them, the Commissioner consented to their demands respecting the church, and that those Hottentots whom they should accuse of murder should be tried according to the laws of the colony, but not be delivered into their hands without any proof of their guilt. These concessions did not satisfy the rebels, and they prepared to attack the place; but, finding the troops ready for their reception, they, after some hesitation, withdrew, threatening to return on the fourth day, to see if the Commissioner had fulfilled his promises. In the mean time Dr. Vanderkemp used his influence to bring them to the terms proposed, by writing to one of their leaders with whom he was acquainted; but not having received any answer, and information arriving on the following Monday that they were again approaching the village, he rode out alone to meet them. They received him in a friendly manner, notwithstanding

their opposition to his plans; and agreed to the first proposals, provided they could depend on Mr. Maynier's promise that their former steps should be forgiven. Dr. Vanderkemp succeeded in removing their fears, and brought the leaders of the party to Graaff-Reinet, where the affair was amicably settled.

Soon after this Dr. Vanderkemp paid another visit to Cafferland; but there appeared so little prospect of success, that he speedily returned to Graaff-Reinet, to resume his exertions among the Hottentots. Thus ended, for the present, the mission to Cafferland; an interesting account of the history, manners, and customs of which country, with a considerably extensive vocabulary of the language, was sent home by him, and published in the Missionary Transactions. His residence among the Caffers, though not attended by any visible effects at the time, impressed them with a high respect for his character, and prepared them to give a favourable reception to such missionaries as should visit them in future.

The boors, ready to seize upon every pretext for showing their enmity to the missionaries, now represented the late journey of Vanderkemp into Cafferland as intended to stir up Gaika against them; and again appeared in arms. In a short time they completely surrounded the village of Graaff-Reinet, in which he then was, and took possession of some of the houses, firing upon the inhabitants and the soldiers. Many balls were aimed at Dr. Vanderkemp's person, but he escaped unhurt. While things were in this state at Graaff-Reinet, the Doctor received a communication from the governor, General Dundas, in which he expressed his desire that he should form a missionary in-

stitution for the Hottentots, then dispersed in the neighbourhood of Graaff-Reinet, and on the borders of the colony; promising him, at the same time, any piece of ground in the disposal of government, which he might think suitable for the purpose. In reply to this communication, and to a request made by his Excellency, that the Doctor would furnish him with his views of the principles on which such an institution should be established, a letter, dated Feb. 11, 1801, of which the following is an extract, was written and forwarded to government.

"We were witnesses (he says) of the deplorable and wretched condition into which the Hottentot nation is sunk, for want of food, instruction, liberty, useful employment, and a spot which they, under the superintendence of government, might in some measure call their own home.

"I am speaking of their condition at Graaff-Reinet, the very place to which numbers of them, by the present circumstances, are compelled to repair as to an asylum, where they may be nourished at the expense of government; while a still greater number prefer to seek refuge among the Caffers on this side the Great Fish River, against the barbarities of the colonists. Among this number are found the hordes of Klaas Stuurman and Ourson, who repeatedly requested me to come to them to instruct them, but constantly refused to settle themselves at Graaff-Reinet or in its vicinity. The consequences of such a condition can be no other than idleness, poverty, or enormous expenses to entertain them—an aversion and actual separation from civilized society, vices of every kind, which may end in plundering, murders, and irregu-

larities of a different nature, but all tending to subvert the happiness and usefulness of that nation, and to endanger the safety of the colony.

"These reflections have induced us to suspend, for awhile, our missionary attempts among the Caffers and Bushmen, and to devote ourselves to the instruction of the Hottentots in this village; that we might be made instrumental to afford them spiritual blessings, till it should please the Lord, by sending us a sufficient number of missionary brethren for our help, to enable us to re-establish the Caffer mission, and form an establishment near the Great River for the benefit of the Bushmen. And, though it was not in our power to alleviate the temporal calamities of the Hottentots, we hoped and trusted that the Lord would, in his time, open a way to answer also, in this respect, our ardent wishes.

"This seems, in the way of Providence, to have been reserved for you, sir; and it is with thanksgiving to God, and acknowledgment of my obligations to your Excellency, that I proceed to submit my ideas, and those of my brother, Read, (Vander Lingen being absent,) after having consulted Mr. Maynier on this subject, to your Excellency's decision.

"1. It appears to us desirable that our missionary settlement should be formed between the Bushman River and Algoa Bay, at a moderate distance from Fort Frederick; and, if a proper supply of water may be procured there, which at present is doubtful, on the banks of the Sunday River.

"2. The chief object and aim of the missionaries, under whose direction this settlement shall be established, ought to be to promote the knowledge of

Christ, and the practice of real piety, both by instruction and example, among the Hottentots and other heathen, who shall be admitted and formed into a regular society; and, in the second place, the temporal happiness and usefulness of this society, with respect to the country at large.

"3. Into this society only those ought to be admitted who will engage themselves to live according to the rules of the institution.

"4. The actual admission and expulsion from this society shall entirely depend upon the judgment of the missionaries; but it seems necessary, that of those who shall have lived in the families of colonists, none shall be considered admissible but such as shall produce a written declaration of their admissibility, signed by the landdrost of the district in which they have lived.

"5. As we by no means wish to counteract, but, on the contrary, to promote, as much as possible, the labours of our Moravian brethren, we are resolved not to admit any individual belonging to their institution, unless it be with their express permission, and at their request. We hope to be equally cautious in respect to other missionary institutions, which may in future times be formed within this colony.

"6. As we are of opinion that the rule laid down by Paul, 'that if any would not work, neither should he eat,' ought to be strictly observed in every Christian society, our intention is to discourage idleness and laziness; and to have the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances shall admit, employed in different useful occupations, for the cultivation of their rational faculties, or exercise of the body, as means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare of this society, and the colony at large.

"These occupations may be referred either to agriculture and farming, the management of cattle, or mechanical arts, and little manufactures, such as soap-boiling, candle-making, spinning of thread, manufacturing of paper, tanning, pot-making, brickmaking, turnery, &c.

"7. As the introduction of these employments will involve the European missionary societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the society, and be paid weekly for their labour; but the products of their labours should be the property of the society, and sold for its benefit. The fund, however, arising from the sale of these articles shall be entirely devoted for charitable institutions of a missionary nature among the heathen, such as the erection of other missionary settlements, an orphan-house, in which forsaken and fatherless children may be educated, or for the subsistence of the sick, old, and poor.

"By these measures we intend not to preclude any one who, by his industry and diligence, shall be enabled to elevate himself above the class of journeymen, from becoming a master and proprietor of his own business.

"8. Should this settlement, which is to be put under the direction of two missionaries and a schoolmaster, increase to a greater number than can be directed by three missionaries and two schoolmasters, it appears better to divide it into two distinct settlements, to be placed in different parts of the country, than to extend it beyond the limits mentioned.

"9. Good order and domestic discipline shall be maintained by the missionaries themselves. The settlers are to be divided as Christians, catechumens, and

hearers. By the last, we understand heathens who will flock to us to hear the word of God. By catechumens, heathens who are more particularly under our inspection and care, instructed in the doctrines of the Gospel, and who submit to ecclesiastical discipline. Christians are those who shall bring forth fruits of conversion, and be by baptism initiated as members of the church.

"10. We have no severer punishment than excommunication from the church and expulsion from the Society. If we shall be compelled to proceed to this last step, we shall think it our duty to inform the landdrost of the fact, that justice may be administered by the court to whose cognizance the crime belongs, *and no malefactor find a shelter within our walls.*

"11. As your Excellency cannot be indifferent with respect to the state and progress of the institution, we suppose it will please your excellency to accept, at least once a-year, a report of its state in detail, by a list pointing out the number, names, qualities, occupations, and other circumstances of the members, according to a model which shall be approved by your Excellency.

"12. Our ideas respecting the polygamy of the heathen exactly correspond with those of the Moravian Brethren.

"13. As to the protection which we may expect from your Excellency, we entirely trust to your Excellency's declared resolution to favour our missionary exertions, and request that we may enjoy the same protection and privileges which are granted to the (Moravian) Brethren at the Bavian's Kloof.

"The state of our congregation, formed out of Hottentots and a few of other nations at Graaff-Reinet, is

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such that it will be necessary to leave an individual missionary in that village, for the instruction of those who shall, by their circumstances, be constrained to reside at this place. The number of children in our reading-school amounts to one hundred and twelve, of whom, however, seldom more than seventy are present. We have been obliged to print a spelling-book for their use, and we hope that your Excellency will permit us to print and to sell little school-books, for the benefit of the future establishment, and to educate some of our young men in the art of printing, as a peculiar branch of their employments.

"The Commissioner Maynier favours our undertakings here with all his power; and has given us a place to build a hall upon, which may serve for a meeting-house, school-room, and a dwelling-place for the missionary."

In reply to this communication, which so clearly establishes the solid and practical views of Dr. Vanderkemp, he received a favourable answer from General Dundas, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Cape Town, Nov.* 26, 1801.

"SIR,

"I have only time, by the present opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated November 11th, containing some heads of a plan for a Hottentot establishment, which I am desirous to encourage, seeing the necessity of endeavouring to ameliorate the spiritual and temporal condition of those unhappy people, whom, upon every principle of humanity and justice, government is bound to protect.

"I have only to add, that, in my opinion, the banks

of the Loerie or Van Stades River is the preferable situation for their establishment, thinking it by no means adviseable to place them in the neighbourhood of the Caffers.

"The Secretary of the colony has this day received my directions to acquaint the landdrost with my wishes upon this subject, being extremely anxious that this plan should be carried into effect as soon as possible, and the Hottentots moved towards their proposed establishment without delay, where every reasonable assistance at the outset, to enable them hereafter to provide themselves with provision and other necessaries, it is my intention to afford them at the expense of the colony.

"In the expectation of hearing again from you upon the subject of this praiseworthy and benevolent undertaking, together with such particulars relative to it as you may think it necessary to give,

"I have, &c. &c

(Signed) "FRANCIS DUNDAS."

In reference to the above letter and another communication of a similar nature which appears to have been received, Dr. Vanderkemp has made the following entry in his journal:—" His Excellency had anticipated my proposals, having already sent off a ship laden with rice and other articles, which he thought that we should stand in need of, to Algoa Bay."

Encouraged by the enlightened views and efficient co-operation of the lieutenant-governor, the missionaries left Graaff-Reinet with a hundred and nine Hottentots; which number, in the course of a few days, by

the stragglers who joined them on the road, was augmented to two hundred and twenty-one.

When they had proceeded half-way towards Algoa Bay, the Hottentot captain, Widdeman, and forty of his people, left them, probably from some fear instilled into their minds by interested and designing men. This loss was shortly after made up by the accession of sixteen wandering Hottentots, whom they found in the mountains ; but, on their arrival at the Zwartkops river, a hundred of the people were induced to leave them, by the influence of Klaas Stuurman, a Hottentot chief, who was at that place in arms, with his people, and who assured them that there was a large assemblage of Boors, at a farm-house, at a small distance, waiting to intercept and to destroy them. This was the only farm-house between the Camtoos and Zwartkops rivers, which had not been destroyed by this intrepid Hottentot chief ; and it was natural for him to endeavour to strengthen himself, by making the Hottentots, along with the missionaries, believe, that the assembled Boors were as inimical to them as they were to himself and his people. In reply to the arguments employed by the missionaries on this occasion, to persuade him to lay down his arms, and submit to the colonial government, he answered as follows : " We are blind heathens, we know nothing, and in this state the Boors wish to keep us ; I wish to live a peaceable life, but I am determined to revenge the barbarous conduct of the Boors to my people, till the government shall do us justice, and permit us to hear the word of God."

" On the 7th March, 1802," the journal of the missionaries states, " at the recommendation of the officer

commanding at Fort Frederick, we took possession of Botha's Place. Whether we shall stay here, or have another place given us, is quite uncertain, though the former seems to me the most probable. We have requested it, as its vicinity to the Bay is the only objection we have; but this has its advantages. Want of water seemed, at first, a great obstacle, but, by digging wells, we find this want amply supplied. The number of our people, with those who have joined us at the bay, amounts to about one hundred and sixty; but we have every reason to expect an increase. The governor has engaged to supply us with provisions for the first year, after which he hopes the people will be able, by industry, to provide for themselves."

During the period they were at this place, the troubled state of the country, and the neutrality their principles compelled them to maintain between the contending parties, exposed them to many hardships, and frequently placed their lives in imminent danger; but, in opposition to the views and remonstrances of their friends, and even of the governor himself, who wished them to retire to a place of greater security, and who even requested them, with that view, to accompany him to Cape Town, they remained at this place; and while they were diligent in their labours among the Hottentots, their exertions to make themselves useful to the soldiers in Fort Frederick were attended with beneficial effects.

The respect entertained by the Hottentots for the character of Dr. Vanderkemp made him a proper person to be employed by the government, as a mediator; and, at the request of the governor, he suc-

ceeded in detaching Klaas Stuurman from the Hottentots then in a state of hostility.

The circumstances which followed the secession of Klaas Stuurman show that we are to look further than the popularity or ambitious views of a single chief, for the origin of the war which then desolated the frontier districts of the colony, and we shall state them in Dr. Vanderkemp's own words :—" This displeased some other chiefs of the marauding Hottentots so much, that they not only attacked Klaas, took away his people, cattle, and arms, but also threatened to treat us in the same manner, looking upon us as the cause of the resolution which he had taken. Captain Stuurman, to save his life, fled to Conga, chief of a troop of Caffers, on this side the Great Fish River, who caused us to be informed that he approved of the behaviour of Klaas, and had taken him under his protection. In the meanwhile, the governor had caused a strong detachment of colonists, commanded by the famous Tjaard Van der Walt, to be marched into this region, against the marauding Caffers and Hottentots; after he had issued a proclamation, that those who would leave the plundering tribes, and go to Graaff-Reinet, Fort Frederick, or into our institution, should have freedom and protection. This detachment, however, attacked promiscuously the Caffers and Hottentots on this side the Great Fish River. Looking upon this as pernicious to the rest of the colony, I gave my sentiments upon it with boldness; and wrote, as well to the Governor Dundas, as to the Fiscal Van Ryneveld, that, according to our opinion, if the detachment proceeded in this manner, and

were not recalled in time, it would occasion its own destruction, and that of all the colony. I urged, also, that Klaas Stuurman and his people should be protected, and that the promises made to him in the name of government should be fulfilled. But it appeared, from the answers which I received, that the governor was prejudiced against Klaas Stuurman by his enemies, and suspected him of falsehood and fraud.

"Our institution making us an object of the hatred of the colonists, we also were described by them as men who stood, with the plundering Hottentots and Caffers, in a connexion which was dangerous to the good inhabitants, and that we caused our institution to be a place of refuge for robbers and murderers.

"The truth was, that we never had had a connexion with any of the plundering hordes, but that we took into our institution those who separated themselves from those hordes, and who, from aversion to their former behaviour, came daily to us, to hear the word of God, and to conduct themselves peaceably, according to our rules.

"The consequence of this, however, was, that we received, on the 3d of August, from government, an order, whereby we were prohibited from receiving more Hottentots, or entering into any connexion with the tribes at the Sunday River. By this order we were, to our great sorrow, forced to reject many of those unfortunate people, principally women and children, who, nevertheless, rather chose to maintain themselves in the woods, amongst the brutes, than to return to their tribes.

"We admonished Klaas Stuurman not to take any part in the hostilities between the farmers and Hot-

tentots, and to convince the governor and his own enemies of the sincerity of his subordination, by such a behaviour: he declared this to be his intention, and that he would suffer injustice rather than break his word. His behaviour, together with that of Conga, has been irreprehensible up to this present hour."

While the country was in this troubled state, it was visited by Mr. Barrow, who gives the following account of a rencontre with this Hottentot chief and his followers.—On making inquiry into the hostile appearance of this band of Hottentots, Mr. Barrow relates, that "one of them, named Klaas Stuurman, or Nicholas the Helmsman, whom they had selected for their chief, stepped forward, and, after humbly entreating us to hear him out without interruption, began a long oration, which contained a history of their calamities and sufferings under the yoke of the Boors; their injustice, in first depriving them of their country, and then forcing their offspring into a state of slavery; their cruel treatment on every slight occasion, which it became impossible for them to bear any longer; and the resolution they had, therefore, taken, to apply for redress before the English troops should leave the country; that their employers, suspecting their intention, had endeavoured to prevent such application, by confining some to the house, threatening to shoot others if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. And, in proof of what he advanced, he called out a young Hottentot, whose thigh had been pierced through with a large musket ball but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master, for having attempted to leave his service. 'This act,' continued he, 'among

many others, equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the Boors of their arms, in which we have succeeded at every house which fell in our way. We have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services; but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though,' added he, shaking his head, '*we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge.*'"

Mr. Barrow, on proposing that Stuurman and his people should enter into the British service, stated a difficulty respecting the manner in which provision must be made for the aged, the women, and the children; which the Chief speedily obviated, by the following address:—"*Restore* (said he) *the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask.*"

"I endeavoured," says Mr. Barrow, "to convince him how little advantage they were likely to derive from the possession of a country, without any other property, or the means of deriving a subsistence from it: but he had the better of the argument. 'We lived very contentedly,' said he, 'before these Dutch plunderers molested us; and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass, roots, and berries, and grasshoppers, for our use; and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply, when these destroyers are gone?' We prevailed, however, upon Klaas to deliver up their arms, and, in the mean time, to follow the troops, until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare."

On the arrival of Mr. Barrow and his military escort

at Algoa Bay, he found, at that place, the Boors and the Hottentots collected in considerable numbers. The Boors, including their families, amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the Hottentots, including young and old of both sexes, to five hundred. The Boors had the protection of the fort at Algoa Bay; the Hottentots were encamped in the open plain.

Mr. Barrow's attempt to effect a reconciliation between the parties was defeated by the rebel Boors, who contrived to circulate a report among the Hottentots at Algoa Bay, that it was the intention of the English to put them on board ship, and to send them to Cape Town.

To this malicious report Mr. Barrow ascribes all the subsequent misfortunes which befel themselves and their countrymen. Many of the Hottentots, under the alarm created by this manœuvre of the Boors, fled to the Caffers under night; and this measure, by which they hoped to rid themselves of their enemies, increased their numbers and their animosity.

A considerable body of Caffers, who had previously declined the authority of Gaika, and who had also been on bad terms with the neighbouring Colonists, availed themselves of this circumstance to avenge the injuries of which they complained. Uniting their forces with those of the Hottentots, they soon spread terror over the whole district of Graaff-Reinet; and, in a few weeks, almost all the country between the Bushmans' river and the Fish river was in their hands. A great number of cattle became their prey: all the houses of the colonists were burnt, and many fell in the unequal struggle to preserve their property.

The Colonists had no reason to despise the Hottentots

as an inferior race of beings, from any superiority they manifested over them in this contest. When a comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of the combatants on both sides is taken into consideration, the address, the capacity, and the courage will be found on the side of the oppressed aborigines.

If the Hottentots failed to establish their independence at this time, the failure did not arise from the superiority of the Boors, but from their connexion with Europe. While the colonists are supplied from England with iron, and steel, and gunpowder; while they have the wealth of the colony in their hands, and are protected by the troops of a great nation, they have no reason to swell on a comparison of themselves with the impoverished and oppressed natives of the country. If the colonists of the Cape were to be cut off from all communication with Europe for a single century, it would be difficult to say, what class of the inhabitants might have the ascendancy at the end of that period.

The Hottentots, who were then united with the Caffers, having defeated the Boors in the district of Uitenhage, and chased them to the Chamtoos river, were met at Lochenberg's place by Van der Walt, where a contest ensued, in which the commandant was killed.

Van der Walt was in himself a host; he was a man of capacity and courage; his memory was respected by all classes of people; he was spoken of with great respect by General Dundas, notwithstanding his strong partiality to the old government of the colony, and the interest he took in the cause of the Boors; "and with him," says Lichtenstein, "the colonists lost all their hope as well as their courage, and, instead of resistance, thought no longer of any thing but flight."

After having proceeded above half way to Cape Town, driving the affrighted colonists before them, the progress of the Hottentots was stopped at the Kayman's river, not far from Mossel Bay, by a body of English troops, conjoined with the colonists of the Swellendam district. By this event, the western part of the colony was delivered from their presence; but, being forced back upon Algoa Bay, it afforded no relief to the missionaries, and the Hottentots under their instructions.

If the protection afforded to the Hottentots, and the encouragement given to the labours of the missionaries among them, were not the sole causes of the rebellion of the Boors, they furnished the pretexts employed to justify it; and the missionaries, and the Hottentots who were settled with them, were exposed to much suffering and many imminent dangers, during its continuance. The spirit of the Boors was exasperated by the successes of the Hottentots in proportion to the contempt in which they formerly held them; and their hatred was indiscriminate, and knew no bounds. Their object was to keep them in a state of ignorance and slavery; and their love of uncontrolled authority, one of the strongest passions in the human breast, shut their minds against every consideration which could be urged in favour of any attempt to improve them.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... THE TANJORE

CHAPTER V.

The Cape restored to the Dutch.—Dangerous situation of the Missionaries.—They retire into Fort Frederick.—Cruel proposal of the Boors to the Dutch Governor.—Bethelsdorp founded.—De Mist and Lichtenstein visit the Institution.—Misrepresentations of Vanderkemp's character.—Proclamation of 1805.—Two Caffer Chiefs visit Dr. Vanderkemp.—The Missionaries ordered to Cape Town, to answer the Charges of the Boors.—The English take the Cape.—Mrs. Smith's labours at Bethelsdorp.

By the peace of Amiens, in 1802, it was stipulated that the colony of the Cape of Good Hope should be restored to the Dutch; and the interval between the departure of the English garrison from Algoa Bay, in the end of September 1802, and the arrival of the Dutch in 1803, was to the missionaries a time of great trial and anxiety. General Dundas, who had shown so much zeal for the establishment and prosperity of this mission, was so much impressed with a sense of the dangers to which the missionaries would now be exposed, that he used every argument to persuade them to suspend their labours, and accompany him to Cape Town, to remain there till such time as order should be re-established in the country; and, when he could not prevail upon them, "he considered us," said Dr. Vanderkemp, "as dead men." The solicitude evinced on this occasion by General Dundas for the safety of the missionaries was as creditable to his heart, as the encouragement he had afforded them in

their labours was to his understanding and his piety; but the missionaries are, nevertheless, to be commended for the firmness they displayed in resisting his importunities. Could they have suspended their exertions on this occasion, with a certain hope of renewing them, the people must have been left without protection; and the care of their own safety was absorbed in something more generous and noble—a concern for the preservation of the interesting and growing family which Providence had committed to their charge.

General Dundas, finding the resolution of the missionaries to abide with the people immoveably fixed, under the apprehensions he entertained for their safety, invested Dr. Vanderkemp, before his departure from the bay, with authority to retreat to Fort Frederick with his Hottentots till the arrival of the Dutch authorities, should such a precaution be found necessary for their protection.

During the few months they had been at Botha's place, they had been kept in a state of constant alarm: they were under the necessity of being constantly prepared to repel force by force; several furious attacks had been made upon them, in which their preservation was singular; and finding, at last, that those attacks were becoming more frequent, and their situation every day more threatening, they resolved to avail themselves of the asylum which the kindness of General Dundas had reserved for them. This last step was taken with great reluctance, and their apprehensions as to the result were but too soon verified.

The Boors in the fort now flattered themselves that Vanderkemp and his people would make common cause with them against their enemies, and, under this

impression, they rendered every facility to aid their removal; but, when they discovered their mistake on this point, and that nothing would induce the missionaries to aid, or even sanction, their conduct towards the Hottentots, every thing was done to render them uncomfortable, and to defeat the ends of their mission. The manner in which they were huddled together gave the Boors the fullest opportunities of exerting a certain degree of influence over the Hottentots; and, finding they could not gain the missionaries to their views, the opportunities afforded by the immediate contact in which they were placed with the people, were improved to counteract the labours of the missionaries, by endeavouring to engraft upon the barbarous stock the grossest vices which debase men in a state of civilization.

Doctor Vanderkemp was strongly attached to the English government, and he regretted that the Cape was again to revert to the Dutch, although Holland was his native country; but he had an instinctive abhorrence of anarchy, and he had suffered so much from the Boors around him, that he hailed the arrival of the Dutch authorities as a desirable event. With the new governor, General Janssens, he had been intimate in his younger years: they had been school-fellows together; and, although there might be a great dissimilarity in their religious opinions, the Doctor had no reason to suppose that all the advantages which might be expected from their former intimacy would be lost. The new governor arrived at Algoa Bay on the 2d of May, 1803. By a man in the station of General Janssens, Vanderkemp had no reason to apprehend that he would be treated with that superciliousness of manner, too common with underlings in office, who judge of

men by their external circumstances, and show their own importance by their rudeness to those whom they think they can insult with impunity. On the contrary, he prevented the first expression of respect that the missionary was prepared to yield to his elevated station; and, laying aside the governor and the general, he was glad to waive all ceremony, and renew the intimacy, and recount the scenes of their youthful days. But notwithstanding the respect and personal esteem General Janssens had for Dr. Vanderkemp, it was soon discovered, when they entered into the affairs of the institution, that the mind of the general had been preoccupied by the false representations of the enemies of the missions.

On the arrival of General Janssens, the frontier Boors proposed that all the Hottentots should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put upon his legs; and that they should be distributed among them as slaves. The state of public opinion in Europe would not have admitted, had the General been so inclined, a method of enslaving the people, of so direct a nature; and the proposal was rejected with becoming spirit. Not at all discouraged by their defeat, a fresh objection was found against the missionary institution, in the change which had taken place in the colonial government, in having passed from the hands of the English to those of the Dutch. It was insinuated that a mission to evangelize the Hottentots, conducted by Englishmen, was pregnant with danger to the Dutch government of the colony. This objection, which was too subtle to have originated with the Boors, had been suggested to them by some of their friends at head-quarters; and it was amusing enough

to hear men, who could not read their own language, endeavouring to alarm the mind of the governor with an enumeration of the evils to be dreaded from the old threadbare story of "*imperium in imperio.*"

In a letter to the directors of the London Missionary Society, on this subject, Dr. Vanderkemp alludes to it in the following terms:—

"It was an easy matter to convince the brave and philanthropic Governor Janssens of the futility of the objection, and to show that our undertaking was entirely separated from all national views and concerns; and that your direction, being entirely restricted to spiritual purposes, did not, even in the least degree, affect, much less relax the authority which government has a right to exercise over all its subjects, any more than the filial obedience due to a father, or tutor, infringes the rights of a sovereign over a son, or pupil, residing in his dominions. But it was not so easy to eradicate the inveterate prejudices against our work among the heathen out of the stony hearts of more barbarous inhabitants; and it was evident, that our relation to English benefactors was only a pretext to give vent to a deeper rooted enmity against God, his Christ, and the extension of his kingdom of love and grace among the heathen."

The governor was satisfied with the reasonings of Doctor Vanderkemp, and saw through the interested clamours of his enemies; but as the colonists were opposed to the object of his mission, in order in some measure to obviate this opposition, it was proposed by his excellency, and agreed to by the missionary, that he should correspond with the London Missionary Society through the medium of the Dutch Missionary Society.

It had become necessary and desirable that the institution should be removed as soon as possible from Fort Frederick; and, at the request of Dr. Vanderkemp, General Janssens had agreed to grant him another place for his establishment.

The unsuitableness of the present site of the institution has been remarked by almost every visiter; but no blame attaches to the missionaries on this account. The place was selected by the colonists, who were subsequently in the habit of boasting, that they selected that spot, and recommended it to General Janssens as the most suitable place in the neighbourhood for the object in view; and this for a purpose distinctly stated by them, "*that the Hottentots might not find any means of subsistence in the vicinity, excepting in the service of the farmers.*" In this particular instance the missionaries had no alternative; and, to obviate their objections against accepting it, they were informed that it was not intended that they should remain any longer there than the time requisite for providing a more suitable place for them.

After the site of the institution had been fixed upon, the governor requested Dr. Vanderkemp to give it a name; observing, at the same time, that he exceedingly disliked scriptural names, and that he hoped he would not give it a name from the Bible. Pausing a moment, and recollecting that he had preached on the preceding sabbath, from Genesis xxxv. 2, 3, the missionary named it "Bethelsdorp." The governor's knowledge of the scriptures was not sufficient to enable him at the time to detect the irony conveyed in this circumstance; and, next day, when he came to know it, and when he found the laugh turned against him, he acknowledged that it was perfectly fair.

This transaction is noticed in a letter, dated 30th May 1803; and the writer states that they were then about to enter immediately upon the possession of the new place.

In the month of January 1804, the institution was visited by the Commissary-General De Mist. This gentleman had been bred to the law, and was sent out to South Africa by the States-General, to draw up some regulations for the future government of the colony. He was accompanied by Dr. Lichtenstein, who officiated in his family as tutor to one of his sons, and who has given the following account, in his travels, of his interesting interview with Dr. Vanderkemp:—

"On the day of our arrival at Algoa Bay," he writes, "the commissary-general received a visit from Vanderkemp. In the very hottest part of the morning we saw a waggon, such as is used in husbandry, drawn by four meagre oxen, coming slowly along the sandy downs. Vanderkemp sat upon a plank laid across it, without a hat, his venerable bald head exposed to the burning rays of the sun. He was dressed in a threadbare black coat, waistcoat, and breeches, without shirt, neckcloth, or stockings, and leather sandals bound upon his feet, the same as are worn by the Hottentots.

"The commissary-general hastened to meet and receive him with the utmost kindness; he descended from his car, and approached with slow and measured steps, presenting to our view a tall, meagre, yet venerable figure. In his serene countenance might be traced remains of former beauty; and in his eye, still full of fire, were plainly to be discerned the powers of mind which had distinguished his early years. Instead of the usual salutations, he uttered a short prayer, in which he

begged a blessing upon our chief and his company, and the protection of heaven during the remainder of our journey. He then accompanied us into the house, when he entered into conversation freely upon many subjects, without any superciliousness or affected solemnity.

"The commissary-general reminded him that they had known each other, thirty-six years before, at Leyden; he was then himself studying the law, and Vanderkemp was in garrison, as a lieutenant of dragoons. He named to him the coffee-house where they had often met, and talked over many occurrences that had happened jointly to them. The missionary remembered these things very distinctly, observing that he led then a very dissolute life, but he hoped it was expiated by his subsequent conversion and present course. He related many things worthy of remark during the time that he lived among the Caffers, and elucidated several circumstances that happened in the late unfortunate war with them."

Dr. Lichtenstein describes Bethelsdorp as composed of forty or fifty wretched huts, in the form of hemispheres; as placed upon a naked plain, without a single bush to relieve the sight; and as presenting nothing in the shape of human beings, but lean, ragged, or naked figures, with indolent sleepy countenances. He describes Vanderkemp as a man of learning; but he represents him as of little value as a missionary, "partly," he adds, "because he is a mere enthusiast, and too much absorbed in the idea of *conversion;* and, partly, because he is too learned, that is to say, too little acquainted with the common concerns of life, to turn the attention even of a raw Hottentot to them."

He accuses him, also, of a total neglect of husbandry, and all mechanical employments. *

Having described Vanderkemp as appearing, at the time he saw him, to be near seventy years of age, he adds—"If ardour in religion, amounting almost to bigotry, if self-denial, and a renunciation of social comforts, even of all earthly enjoyments, supported by a high degree of enthusiasm, and by very extensive learning; if these properties can render a missionary worthy of respect and esteem, then is Vanderkemp most truly so."

* It is impossible to look at the false reports and the inaccuracies of many travellers, and not sympathize with the continental philosopher, who, provoked by the ignorance and false statements which abound in books of travels, brought the following charge against writers of this description in general:—"One may lay down as a maxim, that out of one hundred there are sixty who are liars, not through interest, but ignorance; thirty through interest, or the pleasure of imposing on the public; and about ten who are honest, and aim at truth."

From what has been stated, the reader will be able to judge for himself, what importance he ought to attach to the reports and opinions of Dr. Lichtenstein, connected with the subject of missions; and the following passage may be taken as a specimen of his accuracy: "When the Cape was taken by the English, he" (Vanderkemp) "resolved, though then sixty years of age, to go out as a missionary to the Caffers, and being ordained at Oxford, he came hither in 1797. After two years spent among these people, in which he says himself he had not accomplished much towards the spreading of Christianity, the war broke out. He went for a while to Cape Town, but at his return to the Caffers was not favourably received, and was obliged again to quit their territories." In the passage quoted as above, which does not occupy seven lines in a quarto edition, we have *five* mistakes. Dr. Vanderkemp was not more than fifty years of age, when he offered himself to go out as a missionary; he was not ordained at Oxford; he did not visit Cape Town after his return from Cafferland; he was not unfavourably received on his second visit to the Caffers, nor was he obliged to quit their territories.

Here I may be permitted to remark a little on the want of candour and the rashness of most writers who have spoken incidentally of missionary labours. When the intellectual culture of man is the subject under consideration, the preceptor has credit given him for what he effects, without having his unsuccessful labours imputed to himself, or to his system; but missionaries are tried by another criterion, and meet with a very different treatment from the world. While the objects of their mission have been declared impracticable and treated with ridicule, they have been regarded as having done nothing, and calumniated, simply because they have not wrought miracles, and changed their converts into angels. But this is not all:—besides the want of efficiency with which their labours have been charged, they have been made amenable for the evil passions they have not subdued—for every vice they have not extirpated; and thus the evils which have been too obstinate to admit of a cure have had their origin imputed to the methods which have been employed to remove them. If multitudes have been reclaimed from savage life, from barbarism, from habits of idleness and licentiousness, and rendered sober and industrious, the imperfections still adhering to them are ascribed to the missionaries; and individuals among them, on whom their labours may have been wholly lost, are frequently pointed at, with an air of triumph, as affording conclusive arguments against all missionary efforts.

The labours of missionaries are services which the world has neither the ability nor the inclination to appreciate or reward. It would be absurd to expect that a statue or painting should be perfect at once, or to find

fault with the work of an artist before he has had time to complete it. The husbandman does not expect a crop when he sows his seed; he must wait for it. The father does not expect that his son will be a scholar when he first goes to school; nor does he, when he has finished the term of his education, allege that he has acquired nothing, because he has not attained the greatest heights in literature, or because he may not be able to solve the most difficult problems in science.

The generality of travellers, when they look at our missionary stations, never think of the difficulties the missionaries have had to encounter; nor do they estimate what has been effected, by comparing the present with the former condition of the Hottentots; but, comparing their present state with a higher standard of civilization, without bestowing one grain of praise, they find fault only on account of what has not yet been done.

As a striking illustration of the preceding observations, it is necessary only to read the description of Bethelsdorp given by Dr. Lichtenstein, and to recollect how this writer's remarks on Dr. Vanderkemp and this institution have been copied and circulated by the literary journals of the day.

It is painful to see a man like Dr. Lichtenstein, with some pretensions to science and literature, adopting all the vulgar prejudices and false representations of the colonists. The sentiments he ascribes to Vanderkemp, in his interview with the Commissary-general De Mist, when he represents him as stating, that he hoped to *atone* for the dissolute life he had led when they were first acquainted, by his present course, is a sentiment in perfect contrast with all the theological opinions he then held. He states, in the account published of his con-

version, that when he was an infidel he believed in a future state, and in the efficiency of the sufferings of this present life to procure for us, and to fit us for, its felicity; and the circumstance by which his transition from a state of scepticism to a belief of the Gospel was most strongly marked, was his renunciation of all dependence on human merit, and his entire reliance on the atonement of Christ, as the *sole* ground of his acceptance with God. The inaccuracies of Lichtenstein respecting the age of Dr. Vanderkemp, the place of his ordination, his journey to Cape Town after leaving Graaff-Reinet, the circumstances under which he left Cafferland, are trifles; but his misstatements assume a more grave character when he informs us, that the Hottentots under Vanderkemp's instructions were people he had picked up at the *end* of the war; that the Doctor was opposed to any attempts to civilize the people; and that no attention was paid to give them any occupation.

Whatever Dr. Vanderkemp's qualifications may have been, as a suitable instrument to carry on a work of civilization among the Hottentots, he is unjustly dealt with when he is represented as encouraging them in idleness, and as attaching no importance to their civilization. In the letter drawn up by him at the request of General Dundas, furnishing that distinguished individual with an exposition of his views respecting the manner in which an institution, such as he proposed for the Hottentots, should be conducted, he expressly states that the rule laid down by St. Paul should be adhered to—that if any would not work, neither should he eat; and that it was his intention to discourage idleness and laziness, and to have the individuals of the institution employed

in different useful occupations*. In promoting among the people habits of industry, and in stimulating them to exertions to provide for themselves and their families the means of subsistence, Vanderkemp conceived that he was using the most efficient plan to cultivate their rational faculties, to promote their individual welfare, and to add to the prosperity of the colony.

The difficulty of imparting industrious habits to a people emerging from savage life, cannot be fully estimated, excepting by those who have made the experiment; and much time, and patience, and prudence, and command of temper, are requisite to the individuals who have such a process to conduct, before we are to expect perfect results. In a letter, written in the month of April, nearly four months after Dr. Lichtenstein's visit to Bethelsdorp, our missionary laments the difficulties he had experienced in rousing the people to industry, and the loss he was at to find employment for them. "Laziness," he observes, "is the most prevalent evil among our people, which exposes them to the greatest distresses. Some, however, are willing to work, if we could employ them: this we cannot do, not having been able for more than a year to get any money from the Cape, so that we cannot pay them for their labour, which circumstance subjects both them and us to many inconveniences." It is obvious, from Dr. Lichtenstein's own volumes, that he was acquainted with Dr. Vanderkemp's connexion with the Hottentots at Graaff-Reinet, at the commencement of the war. He was perfectly acquainted with their sufferings at Botha's Place; he knew the

* See page 73.

manner in which they had been shut up in Fort Frederick, from September, 1802, till May, 1803; he was aware that, at the time he saw them, this people had not been more than seven months on the spot thrust upon the missionaries, under the pretence of temporary accommodation, and on which, during these few months, they had been occupied in building the village of Bethelsdorp; and Dr. Vanderkemp, at a subsequent period, in the same year, complains that the people, owing to the distressing circumstances in which they had been placed, were in the most destitute condition, without clothing, and without food; yet, the whole of those miseries, which were inseparable from the situation in which they had been placed, and even the barrenness and wretched appearance of the ground about the institution, are ascribed, by this uncandid writer, "*to the over pious spirit and proud humility of its head.*" There is a bitterness and malevolence against religion evinced throughout; and in the following passage, this feeling seems to have gained such an ascendancy over the understanding of the writer, as to render him insensible, when he was writing it, to the contradiction which it involves.

"It is true that these Hottentots," he says, "were now nominally quiet, and kept in some order; yet often, under pretence of the chase, they wandered about armed, the government (then English) having allowed them, not merely a small quantity of powder and shot to kill game for the purposes of food, but having supplied themselves with it very abundantly; a favour, if favour it is to be called, which was too often misused. They were certainly daily instructed for some hours in the Christian religion, but these in-

structions made much more impression upon their memory than upon their understanding. They could sing and pray, and be heartily penitent for their sins, and talk of the Lamb of atonement, but none were really the better for all this specious appearance. No attention was paid to giving them proper occupations, and, excepting in the hours of prayer, they might be as indolent as they chose.

"This convenient mode of getting themselves fed, attracted many of the most worthless and idle among these people, and all who applied were indiscriminately received into the establishment: the consequence was, that the colonists soon made heavy complaints of the want of servants, since the Hottentots were much better pleased with leading an indolent life in Vanderkemp's school, than with gaining their bread by labour*."

The prejudice such statements have a tendency to excite against missions, is, perhaps, one of the least evils to which they ordinarily give rise. The tendency of indiscriminate censure, unqualified abuse, and studied misrepresentation, is to render such as are friendly to missions incredulous, as it respects all the statements made by strangers, which give an unfavourable view of particular missions; and, under the shade of a scepticism generated in this way, abuse and corruption will, in many cases, creep in, and produce irreparable injury, before their supporters will allow themselves to suppose them in any danger, or that the unfavourable reports propagated respecting them, are any thing else than calumnies raised against them by their enemies.

* Lichtenstein's Travels, vol. i., p. 236.

We have missions, in the present day, in the heathen world, which have suffered much from this cause ; and it is natural to suppose, that unproductive or unsuitable missionaries will never be at a loss for covert under which to shelter themselves, while they can ascribe all that is said against them to the enmity of the human heart against the gospel, and refer to such writers as Lichtenstein, and the literary journals, which are in the habit of quoting his remarks against our missions, as a caution to their friends in Europe how they ought to receive the accusations of the enemies of missionaries.

In February, 1805, a proclamation was issued by General Janssens, which shows that he was at this time too much influenced by the prevailing sentiments of the colonists. The restrictions, under which Vanderkemp and his coadjutors were placed by this proclamation, had a tendency to limit the sphere of their labours considerably: they were no longer permitted to visit the Caffers; but it is pleasing to observe, that we repeatedly find parties of that nation visiting the settlement at Bethelsdorp, and, when the state of the colony would permit it, residing for some time at the institution. In 1804 it was visited by Congo, a powerful chief, who brought with him his two sons for education; and Tzatzoe, another chief, with his family, resided for some time, and left his son also, with the missionaries*.

* There was something in the appearance of Dr. Vanderkemp which made a strong impression on the minds of those who conversed with him. This was in no instance more strongly evinced than among the aboriginal tribes of South Africa. Such as saw him once never forgot him; and they always afterwards spoke of him with the highest respect. If the time he was in Cafferland was too short to permit him to see the spiritual fruits of his

In this instance their labours were much blessed: young Tzatzoe became a decided Christian, and is now a useful missionary to his countrymen. In the journal of one of the missionaries, now before me, is the following passage, in which he expresses the pleasure he feels at the opportunities his situation affords him of being useful to this people. "We are happy to be placed in a situation where numbers of Caffers are daily passing and repassing: they sometimes attend at our seasons of worship, nor do our Hottentot brethren omit any opportunity of speaking concerning Christ to them; and many of them, at times, have expressed a wish for persons to come among them, to instruct them. We long to see a mission established among this people."

On the 18th of April, 1804, Dr. Vanderkemp had written to the governor, stating, that his conscience would not permit him any longer to encourage Hottentots to enter into the service of the farmers, because

labours, it is to his exertions among the Caffers, and to the impression, in favour of the missionaries, made upon their minds, that we are indebted for the openings that we now enjoy for the propagation of the gospel among that interesting people. The following circumstance may be here adduced, as a striking instance of the respect which the Caffers entertain for the Doctor:—

In an attack made upon the institution at Botha's Place, in 1802, by the plundering Hottentots, their chief, Andries Stuurman, being killed in the conflict, his followers fled, and took refuge among the Caffers. When the Caffers came to know that they had attacked the missionary institution of Vanderkemp, they put three of them to death, and the others would have shared the same fate if they had not escaped. Klaas Stuurman, who was then in Cafferland, was obliged to clear himself of the suspicion which attached itself to him, of having been privy to his brother's attack on the missionary station, and with difficulty preserved his life.

of the cruelty and injustice with which they were treated, without any relief being afforded them by the magistrates. Particulars were given, and the governor ordered the landdrost to inquire into the complaints,—but nothing was done; and the farmers were so incensed at the doctor, that one of them went to Cape Town, and, without ceremony, requested from the governor leave to shoot him. General Janssens replied, by asking significantly, "If he had seen the gallows on his entrance into the town*?"

Again, on the 19th of April, 1805, Vanderkemp, in reply to a friendly and familiar letter from Governor Janssens, expresses himself in the following terms:—"You acknowledge the great wrong which the colonists, *perhaps here and there*, do to the Hottentots. This expression, Governor, shews that you are still uninformed of the true situation of things in this country, or at least in the Uitenhage district. Not '*perhaps*,' and '*here and there*,' but very certainly, and pretty nearly in all parts, does this oppression prevail; nor is it only particular inhabitants, but the landdrosts themselves, from whom the oppressed ought to find protection, who make themselves guilty in this respect."

One of the greatest objections which the boors had to the English government, under General Dundas, was the favour shown to the Hottentots; and they fully expected that, with the return of the Dutch government, the mission of Dr. Vanderkemp would be suppressed, and that the Hottentots would be left in their hands, without any checks upon their authority. The news of the articles of the treaty of Amiens had

* Transactions of the London Missionary Society, vol. ii. p. 241.

no sooner reached the Cape, than they had expressed their sentiments, in the strongest language, on this subject.

Their first proposals to Governor Janssens were too gross to meet with a favourable reception; but their reiterated clamours at last prevailed, and, in 1805, the missionaries were summoned to Cape Town, to answer some charges preferred against them. It is almost unnecessary to say, that these charges were such as could not be brought forward in court; the governor was perfectly aware that the farmers could substantiate nothing that would criminate the missionaries; but the governor had too little firmness, or the government was too weak, to allow him to resist the unjust clamour raised against them by their enemies. On this occasion they were detained nearly nine months in Cape Town, in a state of suspense, the governor all the time refusing either to give them a trial or to allow them to remove into the interior, to prosecute their missionary labours.

Wearied with their inactivity, they had formed a resolution to leave the country, and were only prevented from putting this resolution into practice by the arrival of the English fleet in Table Bay, on the 4th January, 1806. On the 20th, the town was surrendered to the British. The change which this occurrence made in their circumstances was sensibly felt. General Baird, the new governor, favoured their views; and, considering it their duty to continue to devote themselves to the instruction of the Hottentots, they soon returned to Bethelsdorp, and resumed their beloved work.

During the absence of Vanderkemp and his coadjutor

in Cape Town, their place had been ably supplied by Mrs. de Smidt (or Smith), of Cape Town*. At the period the missionaries were summoned to the seat of government, it was apprehended that they would not be allowed to resume their labours at Bethelsdorp; and it was under this impression, and to preserve the institution, that this meritorious woman, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, disposed of her property, and relinquished the comforts of civilized society, to take upon her the management of it. The importance she attached to the education of youth, the success which had attended her labours in Cape Town in that department, the talents for which she was distinguished, the high respectability of her character, and her affectionate zeal, qualified her in an eminent degree for the duties of her new station.

Her efforts succeeded in bringing together many of the children of the people to the reading-school; and at the time she was superintending the school in which she had collected the parents and the children, that they might be taught to read, she formed and conducted a school of industry, which was of essential service to the institution. While she was exerting her influence to impart to the minds of the people a taste for instruction, reviving and improving the reading-school, conducting her school of industry, visiting the people in their houses and teaching them the decencies of life, conversing with the females apart, and endeavouring to impress their minds with the power of religion,—assembling with them in their social meetings, and ex-

* A Memoir of this remarkable woman has been published in English, and may be had at Mr. Francis Westley's, publisher and bookseller, Stationers'-court, Paternoster-row.

pounding to them the word of God,—she seemed to pay as much attention to each of those objects as if it had occupied her exclusive regard, and in the multiplicity of her avocations it could not be said that one of them suffered by her neglect.

During the time she was at Bethelsdorp, she had the satisfaction of seeing several of the females receive the first principles of the Christian character ; and several, who afterwards became members of the mission church, ascribed their first serious impressions to her labours.

She remained a twelvemonth at Bethelsdorp after the return of the missionaries. Her character and labours were highly appreciated by them ; and it was the anxious wish of all that she should remain ; but her absence was too greatly felt in the extensive sphere of usefulness she had formerly occupied, to allow her to comply with their wishes, particularly as the missionaries had now resumed their labours ; and, having accomplished the object she had proposed to herself at this station, she returned to Cape Town. Here she continued till 1821, when she entered into her rest, after a series of active exertions in the cause of benevolence, which has rendered her memory blessed, and made her death to be felt as a loss to the whole colony.

CHAPTER VI.

Progress of Christianity among the Hottentots.—David Stuurman's Kraal.—Native Teachers.—Vanderkemp's Opinion of them.—First Stage of Missions.—State of the Hottentots under the English.—Vanderkemp's Official Correspondence.

The work of conversion in South Africa began at a much more early period after the commencement of our missions than in some other places. The Hottentots within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and some of the Bushmen and Caffers immediately beyond its limits, had, from their intercourse with the colonists, a partial acquaintance with the Dutch language, which enabled our missionaries to enter upon the labour of instruction almost as soon as they landed on the shores of South Africa. An advantage of this nature can only be appreciated by the missionaries, who have to make themselves masters of a strange language before any favourable impression can be made upon the minds of the people, the care of whose souls they have undertaken. In as far as natural causes are concerned, it might be owing to this circumstance that Africa yielded her increase to God so much earlier than Taheitè.

Doctor Vanderkemp had not the same difficulties to encounter at the commencement of his mission among the Hottentots that he had among the Caffers; he had not their language to acquire, as a previous step, before they could be brought under Christian instruction; and in the course of a few years he had the satisfaction

of seeing several of that degraded people elevated in the scale of being by the blessing of God upon his labours.

Struck with the grandeur of an object that had to them all the charms of novelty, the zeal of the new converts brought many Hottentots to the institution to receive instruction, and prepared the way for the missionaries visiting the scattered remnants of the Hottentot tribes, which were still to be found associating together in kraals, or in small parties by themselves.

Among the kraals first visited by this means, that of David Stuurman furnishes a subject of pleasing and painful interest. Some notice has already been taken of the Chief Stuurman and his people. After the war had subsided, in which David Stuurman and his brother Klaas had taken such a conspicuous part, they were allowed to settle with their people near the Chamtoos River, at the distance of about fifty miles from Bethelsdorp. The Hottentots who received the gospel at Bethelsdorp were the first who awakened in the breasts of this horde a desire for Christian instruction, and by that means prepared them for the visits of the missionaries. Owing to the distance of this village from the institution, the missionaries could visit them but seldom, and for that reason they continued to labour among them for days, and sometimes for weeks at a time. After the difficulties and trials of patience which usually attend the first introduction of the gospel among savage tribes, they had the satisfaction of seeing their labours attended with the most beneficial effects; several individuals who were converted by means of the missionaries, at this period, have continued ever since to maintain a highly respectable Christian profession;

and all of them who were left at liberty during the subsequent troubles which came upon them, and after the apprehension and banishment of their chief*, sought an asylum in Bethelsdorp, where those who remain of them, and their descendants, continue to form a part of the population of that institution.

Our missionary societies can do little more in foreign countries than begin the work of conversion; we cannot long continue to supply the fields under cultivation with missionaries from England: the attention of our societies, therefore, cannot be too soon directed to the raising up of native teachers; and it will be seen, from the following extract from the Missionary Transactions, that this did not escape the observation of Dr. Vanderkemp. "Some of our converted Hottentots," he observes, "show a remarkable zeal in exhorting others to faith in Christ. In them this zeal is evidently an extraordinary gift of God's spirit, and their exhortations are attended with a not less remarkable success. Their external circumstances, as well as their natural disposition, seldom permit them to be at home; and it is especially poverty and want of food which compel them to wander about the country, working for their bread. In this manner they are, by necessity, itinerant preachers; but as the same necessity excludes them from instruction in reading, writing, scriptural doctrine, &c., their arguments are uniformly taken from spiritual experience, and want that strength which scripture affords; and in my eye, they are valiant champions, but without swords. Could a few of them be enabled and disposed to receive suitable instruction, God may

* For the history and fate of David Stuurman, see APPENDIX.

perhaps intend to do more by them than by missionaries from Europe, and with less expense to the society. The advantages of employing some of these men are too evident to be pointed out to you here. I shall only submit to your examination a rough sketch of my plan respecting them.

"If they are to be instructed, they must stay a couple of years at home. They may live chiefly by means of cattle, and partly by exercising some mechanical art in their intermediate hours; though it will be a hard matter to dispose a lazy Hottentot to such employments, no less than to keep him at home. The name of *missionary* must be avoided, which would attract the attention of enemies, and be a hinderance to their work. They ought to be merely members, or officers of the church at Bethelsdorp,—as to the rest, private Hottentots, though, in fact, ministers of the gospel. There is at present only one individual, (now on a journey to the Cape,) who seems calculated for this work, and willing to devote his all to the service of Christ: his name is Kruisman, mentioned in several of our reports as an exemplary Christian *."

It is no small recommendation to the plan proposed by Dr. Vanderkemp, that all our missionaries to whose opinion any importance can be attached, have now come to the same conclusion; and the method he proposes to be adopted in relation to the Hottentots is characterized by modesty and good sense. He wisely guards against any thing ostentatious in his plan, or the use of names to feed the vanity of the friends of missions at home, or to excite contempt and prejudice

* See "Missionary Register," vol. ii., p. 150.

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against them among his enemies, to whose personal inspection his labours were open.

It was under this modest and unassuming character that the gospel obtained its triumph in the first ages of the church; and its permanent conquests, in subsequent ages, have been gained in a similar manner. Disposed as we naturally are to symbolize with the Jews in their attachment to a worldly kingdom, and with the world at large in its love of splendour, we are too prone to forget that the kingdom of God cometh not with observation or worldly pomp *.

While Vanderkemp saw enough to encourage him in his labours, by the partial success which attended them in the first stage of a mission to a savage people, or in the first generation which assumed the Christian name, it would, however, be unreasonable to expect that we should find among them that sense of propriety which shrinks from the appearance of evil; that modesty, which instinctively retires from danger; and that purity of mind and manners, which is expected, where the gospel has erected its standard, among a religious and a cultivated people.

While the following passage, from an admirable

* A further illustration of the importance of the plan recommended by Dr. Vanderkemp will be given in the sequel.

No reflection is intended by the above remarks on the distinguished individuals who founded the mission colleges of India and Malacca. While the writer considers the general principle laid down in those remarks, as having been established by the testimony of Scripture, and the experience of eighteen centuries, his own ignorance of our Eastern empire, and the high opinion he entertains of the judgment of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Milne, and of the missionaries at Serampore, leads him to consider the mission colleges of our Indian empire as exceptions to the general rule.

preface to the life of Mrs. Savage, written by Mr. Jay, discovers an intimate acquaintance with human nature, it sheds a ray of light upon the state of society among the Hottentots at the period we are considering, and shows the nature of some of those trials which a missionary has to lay his account with, either when his own labours are successful, or where he may have been called to reap where others have bestowed labour.

"Coarseness and freedom of manners," says this author, "are too often the result of former viciousness, of which the individuals themselves are not aware, but which expose them to temptation in their social, especially female, intercourse."—"Moral and virtuous habits produce delicacy, and impose restraint. Former scenes of guilt will often revive in the imagination; and though they are not entertained there, yet by passing through the mind they defile it, and distress it. I have heard more than one pious character confess the pain and injury he has suffered from this quarter, even in his public and private devotions, and who would have given the world to be free from the shocks he received from the hauntings of the ghosts of his old iniquities."—"I never knew a professor of religion, or a preacher of the word, who fell by certain temptations, but had been, previously to his connexion with the Christian world, the victim of vice."

An individual of a superior order of mind may be found amongst an uneducated people; a few specimens of good workmanship may be produced where no trade is followed; a few patriots may be seen struggling against the corruptions of a country sinking into ruin; a few individuals may be selected from a savage tribe, and cultivated, while the tribe itself is left in a state of

nature: but we must look to the rising generation, trained up in our schools under a disciplinary education, as the efficient instruments necessary for the promulgation of the gospel, and the elevation of the body of the people.

Among the schemes which occupied the mind of Dr. Vanderkemp, in the midst of his missionary labours, was an orphan asylum for the destitute children of Hottentots and Caffers. A plan of the establishment proposed was submitted to the directors of the London Missionary Society, and repeatedly urged upon them, with much zeal; but the difficulties connected with its execution prevented its being carried into effect.

It is a dangerous thing to tamper with the relation subsisting between parents and children: in this, as in similar cases, benevolence may sometimes increase the evils it intends to remedy; but, in connexion with the general improvement of the people, an establishment of this sort might have been attended with salutary effects. To carry on the work of God among a people emerging into a state of civilization, and to give the gospel a permanent habitation among them, without its being necessary to continue foreign aid to maintain the ground already gained, we must look to the children of those people, to whom the customs and manners of their ancestors, in a savage state, are become matters of pure history; and such an asylum, had it been at that period established, might have furnished our missionaries, by this time, with native teachers, with schoolmasters, and other useful auxiliaries. But we must leave these reflections for the present, and proceed to describe the condition of the missionaries, and the treatment of the Hottentots under their new masters.

Had the Dutch continued to retain possession of the Cape, many of the Hottentots, like the Javanese, might have still regretted the departure of the English from among them; but they have since been taught by experience, that the humanity with which they were at first treated by us, was less owing to any superiority in our national character, than to a fortunate conjunction of circumstances. It is, indeed, a matter deeply to be regretted, that the intellectual and moral qualities of such men as Lord Macartney, General Dundas, and Sir Stamford Raffles are not uniformly required in those to whom the government of our colonies is consigned. Were such important appointments always conferred on men of this description, the present publication would, in all probability, never have appeared—for the abuses which have called it forth would, unquestionably, have long ago ceased to exist.

When the English first took possession of the Cape, the Hottentots hailed their arrival before they knew anything of the character of their deliverers; and the story of their sufferings made a strong impression on the minds of a people who entertained a great aversion to their first oppressors, and who had, as yet, no interest to serve by enslaving them. The English found that the Hottentots could be trusted: they received from them the most efficient assistance in suppressing the insurrections of the boors, and, therefore, whilst the boors continued to be disaffected to the government, the Hottentots enjoyed the smiles of the British authorities. But when the boors, finding that the English were likely to retain permanent possession of the Cape, became reconciled to their new masters, the services of the Hottentots were forgotten, and their interest

sacrificed at the shrine of this union. This was a result which the missionaries had not anticipated, and for which they were not prepared. It was soon perceived that, under the new system, the oppression of the Hottentots continued, as under the old government; and Doctor Vanderkemp found that the new English authorities paid as little attention to his complaints; as the Dutch authorities of the colony had been in the habit of doing. Had he been properly supported by the local authorities of the district, an end might have been speedily put to the cruelties practised against the natives; but he had the mortification to find that his attempts to improve the condition of the Hottentots, and to bring their oppressors to justice, were constantly opposed by those by whom he should have been supported. In January, 1807, not a twelvemonth after the return of the missionaries to Bethelsdorp, by the permission of the English government, the Doctor thus writes, in a letter addressed to the Directors of the London Missionary Society :—

"I think our enemies have in view to accomplish their design, not by expelling us out of the colony, or by a formal prohibition of our missionary work, but by teasing, and gradually confining us more and more to a narrow sphere of activity, in hope that, by repeated trials, we shall be wearied out, and disposed at length to abandon our station, and leave them masters of the field."

The following extract of a letter, dated May 21, 1808, from Dr. Vanderkemp to the landdrost of the district of Uitenhage, may be taken as a specimen of some of the grievances of which he complains in this place :—

"The bearers, Dansken Klaas and Hendrik Soldaat, complain bitterly that their wives and children are forcibly detained by their former master and mistress, Frans Greeff and Mrs. Suckling; and that, together with two other Hottentot women, they were, by order of the last, violently taken up and carried away from the public road. Such outrages call loudly to heaven for justice! I hope, and respectfully request, that it may please you to procure these four unhappy sufferers the enjoyment of that liberty, to which by nature, and the laws of this country, they are entitled: and I doubt not that you will at once perceive the necessity of putting a stop to these and similar excesses, which, being left unpunished, daily increase in number and atrocity, and render this country an execration to every stranger, in whom the least spark of humanity is not entirely extinguished."

The following letter is addressed to the Secretary, Captain Smith, in reply to a letter from the Lieut.-Governor, on the affairs of the institution. It is dated January, 1809:—

"You express in your last letter his Excellency the lieutenant-governor's wish, that I should for some time continue at Bethelsdorp to preserve the members of that institution in their present peaceable and well disposed habits of life.

"However willing I may be to gratify (if it were in my power) his Excellency in this respect, it is not probable that my stay at this institution will be of long duration, being invited by the Missionary Society of London to other services. It is not, however, my intention to leave the institution till it shall be established upon a more solid and regular plan than it is at present,

and till I shall be enabled to give over its direction to a missionary successor better qualified for the service than myself. The last point is committed to my care by the before-mentioned society, but the first cannot be executed by me without his Excellency's co-operation and favour; and, in accordance with this view, I shall submit the following hints to his Excellency's consideration.

"The institution has been erected upon a most simple plan, at the invitation, and under the auspices, (as you, Sir, may recollect,) of General Dundas, who condescended to give immediately the orders necessary for its management, in relation to the peace and tranquillity of the country, without the intervention of the landdrost, or the commandant of Fort Frederick.

"Under the government of General Janssens, it was gradually more and more oppressed, and subjected, first, under the orders of the officer commanding at Algoa Bay, and afterwards under the landdrost, which proved a source of many complaints respecting the injuries under which our Hottentots groaned.

"At the restoration of the British government, we naturally expected that the restrictions under which the institution was placed would be removed, especially as the chief magistrate, Van Ryneveld, informed me that it was General Baird's wish that the institution should be reinstated, upon the same footing as it had been originally, under the government of General Dundas.

"Notwithstanding this, the Landdrost Cuyler continues to exercise an almost arbitrary power over the members of the institution, and has even taken steps to put me under the orders of a Field-Cornet. By a series of acts of injustice towards our Hottentots, of

which I am reluctant to complain in detail, (but which have rendered my station in this place extremely disagreeable and disgusting to me,) he has alienated the affections of our people, not only from himself, but from the government in general; insomuch, that when the obligations they have to government, as their protectors, are represented to them, the common reply is—'*They are not the same English that they were under General Dundas.*'

"It is in the power of his Excellency to convince them, effectually, that this conclusion, from the conduct of one individual, as to the dispositions of the whole government, is erroneous and false, and I doubt not of his Excellency's being inclined to give unequivocal proofs to the contrary. In this persuasion, I shall be so free as to add the following observations.

"The institution ought to be placed under the immediate protection of the acting governor—the missionary to receive the necessary orders immediately from his Excellency; and the plans of co-operation, as far as they may affect the political state of the colony, should be concerted between his Excellency and the missionary.

"It is, however, by no means my opinion that the institution should be entirely independent of the landdrost's authority. Being so distant from the seat of government, it is necessary that there should be a local magistrate to watch over the proceedings of the missionaries, and their people, to prevent such steps being taken, as he may have reason to believe would be disapproved by the governor, and whose authority is to be respected (as it always has been) both in civil and judicial matters; and for this purpose explicit in-

structions should be given by his Excellency, and communicated by extract to the missionaries for their information.

"I shall not presume to suggest the necessary articles for our regulation, which must be left to the wisdom and discretion of his Excellency. I only beg that they may be calculated to preserve the missionaries, with their people, in the free and unmolested exercise of their respective religious privileges; that the members, actually belonging to Bethelsdorp, (about eight hundred, women and children included,) who are in the service of the boors, may not be involved in war or commandoes against the natives; that no boor may engage such a member in his service, by annual contract, except in presence and with consent of the missionary; that no field-cornet or individual have any authority within the institution; and that the inhabitants of the colony be forbidden to offer brandy or other intoxicating liquors for sale, or to distribute them among the people, without the permission of the missionary.

"As the ground of Bethelsdorp is entirely unfit for agriculture, Governor Janssens authorized me to look out for a more convenient spot. In the mean time some people suggested to him two farm places, which, in their opinion, would answer his Excellency's intentions; but, upon examination, those places were found pernicious to cattle. We remonstrated against our removal to a place labouring under a more material defect than Bethelsdorp itself. These places are situated in the district of Kromme River. By reiterated changes of government, this subject has been left undetermined. In this place we have now lingered more

than five years, under an extreme scarcity and dearth of the most necessary articles of food, bread, and vegetables; being moreover prevented from erecting the necessary buildings of more durable materials than reeds and straw: for this reason I humbly request that it may please his Excellency to grant a tract of ground more adapted to the wants of the institution, and, if possible, in the neighbourhood of Cafferland, that that nation also may enjoy the benefit of religious instruction, and in this way become more civilized and tractable. But should, unexpectedly, his Excellency think it more expedient that the institution be not removed from the ground which it actually occupies, it is desirable that his Excellency may be pleased to signify explicitly *this to be* his Excellency's resolution.

"While I am writing this, the landdrost (Major Cuyler) has ordered six Hottentots to be taken from each field-cornet's district, to work at the drostdy; and, considering the institution as a kind of extraordinary field-cornetship by itself, ordered me, also, to command six of our people to that same work. Having obeyed, and executed the order, I have (but in vain) endeavoured to point out to the major, in a friendly manner, the dissimilarity of the two cases. The Hottentots, who are in the service of the boors, being paid, and their families provided for, by their masters, they lose nothing when they are employed elsewhere; but it is not so with our Hottentots, who, receiving no payment, must be subsisted, with their families, from their industry. Besides this, there actually exists no necessity nor reason to call away the members of the institution from their work, families, and means of instruction as will appear, if we consider that the

number of Hottentots belonging to the institution, since the year 1802, is 1267 (including women and children); from these, if we deduct 300, who are now at Bethelsdorp, about 50, who are in military service, a few who died or lately emigrated to Cafferland, &c., the remaining 800 will be found in the service of the boors. May not this number be estimated as sufficient to afford the necessary workmen, without employing the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp to work at the drostdy, without any pay? I leave this, with the fullest confidence, to the decision of his Excellency, in which I shall readily acquiesce.

"There is another case, which compels me to have recourse to his Excellency's sagacity. Two brethren, Salmon and Piet Campher, both members of the institution, went, with my permission, to visit their friends living at the place of Christian Kok; there the field-cornet, Van Rooyen, found them, and he commanded them to work at the drostdy, as if they had been in the service of the above-mentioned Kok, and belonged to his field-cornetship.

"Having referred the case to the landdrost, and shown, from the register of the institution, that the report Van Rooyen made was false; that they had never been in the service of Kok, but had been regularly dismissed by their former masters, P. van Stoll, jun., Reed Vermaak, and Sana Potgieter; and that they had entered the institution the 7th of March; it pleased the landdrost (notwithstanding this, my solemn declaration) to disallow the truth, in order to confirm the proceedings of the field-cornet; and he condemned them both to work at the drostdy, along with the six mentioned before. Upon this, one of them fled into

Cafferland, whither many more, not belonging to the institution, are also gone, disgusted by the treatment which they have received in this district. The consequences of these emigrations Major Cuyler may, perhaps, not be aware of, but they cannot escape your penetration, as you have been witness of the calamities originating from them, during the government of General Dundas. The other brother (Salmon) is still here, relying upon his excellency's protection against this glaring injustice."

CHAPTER VII.

Commissioner Collins visits Bethelsdorp—Dr. Vanderkemp's Contests with the Local Authorities.—His Death and Character.

In 1809, Lieutenant-Colonel Collins was appointed to visit the frontier districts of the colony, as his Majesty's Commissioner. I have been fortunate enough to procure copies of this gentleman's reports, made to the colonial government, and have extracted from them the following details.

Shortly after the arrival of the Commissioner at Uitenhage, he paid a visit to Bethelsdorp, on the 7th April, in company with Major Cuyler, Mr. Stockenstrom, the landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, and Mr. A. Stockenstrom, who has since succeeded his father, as the chief magistrate of that district. On this occasion, after some general remarks, in which he announced the object of his visit to the station, the power with which he was invested, the instructions he had received from his Excellency the governor, to converse freely with Dr. Vanderkemp on the state of the mission, and to assure him of his Excellency's best wishes for the prosperity of his labours, he drew from his pocket a paper, containing a number of questions, which had been written to assist his memory. The following is a specimen of the questions and replies:—

Among other questions in the paper which he held in his hand, he asked the Doctor, "Will you, Sir, agree

to send over to Uitenhage, Hottentots whose services may be required by the magistrate, Major Cuyler?" To this Vanderkemp directly replied in the negative. Being requested to state the grounds on which he rested his objections, he remarked, "that to apprehend men as prisoners, and force them to labour in the manner proposed, was no part of his duty." To a question, "whether he did not consider it his duty to compel the Hottentots to labour," he replied, "No, Sir; the Hottentots are recognized to be a free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose, than you have to sell them as slaves." Being asked why he would not obey the order of the landdrost, in calling in the Hottentots who were among the farmers, when they were required by the landdrost; "Because, Sir," said he, "that is the duty of the landdrost himself, and he is paid for it." Being asked, if he would agree to prohibit the Caffers from visiting his institution; and whether he would send such as might resort to him under the pretext of coming to seek instruction, as prisoners to Uitenhage; he replied, "Sir, my commission is to preach the gospel to every creature, and I will preach the gospel to every one who chooses to hear me. God has sent me, not to put chains upon the legs of Hottentots and Caffers, but to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound."

These proposals having been previously pressed upon Vanderkemp by Major Cuyler, he knew at once with whom they originated; and the landdrost did not escape without reproof for the attempt to force upon him, through the medium of the commissioner, what he

had so often before resisted, when they came immediately from himself.

Dr. Vanderkemp, not having received any answer to his letter of January, addressed to the governor, presented, on this occasion, a brief memorial to the commissioner, calling his attention to the points contained in that letter; praying at the same time, that the case of the poor oppressed Hottentots might be pressed upon the consideration of his Excellency, and their numerous complaints and grievances examined; and that the defects in the administration of justice under which they were sinking as a nation, might be fully remedied. In reply to the representation of the Doctor, the commissioner stated, that he would endeavour to procure an answer to the several points contained in his memorial as soon as possible. Among the topics discussed in this conversation, the proposal of a mission to Madagascar was one; and it is stated in a letter of Mr. Read's, in the Missionary Transactions, that the commissioner was very zealous on this occasion in advocating the cause of the Madagascar mission; and he at the same time expressed his assurance that Lord Caledon would give every encouragement and assistance to such an undertaking.

Colonel Collins states, in his report to government, (without supposing, I presume, that the statement would ever be seen by a missionary,) that he did all in his power to dissuade Vanderkemp from thinking of renewing the Caffer mission, by endeavouring to impress upon his mind the importance of a mission to Madagascar. He acknowledges, at the same time, that his motive for dissuading the Doctor from the Caffer mission, and for pressing upon him the Madagascar mission, was

not from any regard to Madagascar, nor from any interest he took in such an enterprise; but merely to get rid of Dr. Vanderkemp's application to be allowed to re-commence a mission in Cafferland.

In the report, Colonel Collins also recommends to the government to abolish the institution of Bethelsdorp, on the following grounds: that Dr. Vanderkemp's labours had not been successful, the Doctor having acknowledged to him that he had not baptized more than sixty-seven individuals; that the Doctor had admitted to him, that the institution was not designed for the benefit of the colony, but exclusively for the benefit of the Hottentots; and, that the people might be serviceable to the farmers.

Dr. Vanderkemp estimated the importance of his success by another standard than that employed by Colonel Collins; and his obvious meaning, in speaking of this great object of his labours, appears to have been strangely misapprehended by the commissioner. When the Doctor spoke of the institution's being for the benefit of the Hottentots, and not for that of the colonists, his expression was, "that the colonists had no *direct* interest in it;" and it is somewhat surprizing that his Majesty's commissioner could not comprehend how the civilization and moral improvement of the Hottentots might *indirectly* redound to the advantage of the colony in general.

A proclamation, in relation to the Hottentots, was published by Lord Caledon shortly after the visit of Colonel Collins to Bethelsdorp, with the most benevolent intentions on the part of his lordship; but the provisions of this enactment were so framed by those by whom it was constructed, that what his lordship in-

tended for the relief of the oppressed Hottentots, was practically employed by the local authorities of the country districts to increase their burdens. But as this important subject demands a much fuller discussion than would be suitable in this place, it will be explained and illustrated in a future chapter. The zeal, courage, and abilities of Vanderkemp were all employed in the good cause he had undertaken. But promises which were never fulfilled, and proclamations which made things worse, were the only fruits of his labours. A few extracts of his correspondence with Major Cuyler will afford further illustration on this subject.

In a letter addressed to this magistrate, dated 30th July, 1810, he thus writes: "I think it superfluous to inform you of the conduct of Lucas Van Rooyen towards the child of Bretagne, and its distressed father, as the last has himself explained to you the particulars of this barbarous outrage, which must fill every sensible heart with horror and indignation.

"But as Bretagne yesterday left you with the supposition that you were not disposed to do what justice demands—to restore him his child, (which certainly must be a mistake,) and consulted me about the best method to obtain justice and protection against such brutal disturbers of the public tranquillity, I advised him to return to you in order to understand better your meaning, which I doubt not will be calculated to secure the children belonging to the institution from being stolen from the highways of your district by characters who, in any country where justice is administered, should not escape the gallows."

The next letter is dated Bethelsdorp, the 6th November, 1810:—

"The conduct of the field-cornet, Isaak van Nieuwkerk is so outrageous, in violating his Excellency's proclamation respecting the Hottentots in the service of the boors, that I find it my indispensable duty to complain of it to you, before it be brought to the cognizance of his Excellency, as an instance of the oppression which takes place in this district. The field-cornet not only forces Hottentots, who have served out their time, to continue in service, or to choose (as he calls it) a new master, but, abusing your name, tells them that it is your order not to pass the Chamtoos river before they have engaged themselves to another boor. I have directed the bearers, being instances and witnesses of these proceedings, to give you more explicit information of them."

Another letter, directed to the same individual by Dr. Vanderkemp, and from the same place, is dated 28th November, 1810:—

"I believe that you yourself are aware, that these outrages cannot be suffered to go on in this manner. I hope and pray most earnestly, that the poor sufferers, mentioned to you by the bearer Boatsman, may be liberated from their tyrants, and indemnified according to his Excellency's order; that, in particular, the Hottentots in the district on the right side of the Chamtoos river, may be secured against the lies and oppression of the field-cornet, by informing them of his Excellency's order, by which their liberty is asserted; and, lastly, that Nieuwkerk may be ordered to send the above-mentioned Hottentot, with his cattle, to Bethelsdorp."

The last of these extracts is from a letter, dated Bethelsdorp, January 4, 1811.

"The bearer, Winvogel Stuurman, (who is to ap-

pear before the matrimonial commission, to have his marriage registered,) informed me that the field-cornet, I. van Nieuwkerk, notwithstanding your last proceedings against him, continued to force Hottentots, who have served out their time, to remain in his cornetship, and in the service of the boors; that he himself has been present when Nieuwkerk exercised this compulsion, in respect to Klaas Afrikaaner, which is sometimes accompanied by a most barbarous treatment, as a Hottentot woman, now in the service of Mrs. Machtitld Potgieter, lately experienced, the particulars of which (and also of two Hottentots in service of Jan Meyer) the bearer will point out more fully to you. If, unfortunately, the measures, which I expect you will take in this case, should prove ineffectual to put an immediate stop to the outrages of this villain, and the extorted contracts shall not be rescinded, nor the injured indemnified, I hope you will not disapprove my representing to his Excellency the governor, how scandalously, in your district, justice is trampled under foot by the vilest characters, and his Excellency's proclamation treated with contempt; but, as such a remonstrance would unavoidably place your own conduct in an unfavourable light, I should be extremely sorry to be brought under this painful necessity."

From the commencement of the evils of which Vanderkemp complains, he appears to have laboured under a misapprehension, which may account for the temper those letters display. He evidently believed that the oppressions of the Hottentots originated wholly with Major Cuyler, and he did not perceive that it had, by this time, become a part of the colonial system.

After the removal of General Dundas from the Cape

of Good Hope, under whose enlightened auspices Dr. Vanderkemp began his missionary exertions at Algoa Bay, the history of his labours is that of one continued struggle to protect the people and the missionary institution of Bethelsdorp against the measures of the local authorities of the district of Uitenhage. During this arduous struggle, of which his correspondence affords sufficient evidence, he did not complain in private only—he presented his grievances before the colonial government; and the following extract, copied from a letter written only a few months before his death, will show how little he gained by his exertions:—"I would go anywhere," he exclaims, "to escape from my present situation: I cannot remain much longer at Bethelsdorp; my spirits are broken, and I am bowed down by the landdrost Cuyler's continual oppressions of the Hottentots."

About this time a letter from Mr. Read to the Directors, complaining of cruelties committed by the Christians (so called) upon the Hottentots, in the neighbourhood of Bethelsdorp, attracted the notice of the Governor, who ordered the landdrost Cuyler to summon Mr. Read before him, and to investigate the source of those complaints. Mr. Read readily obeyed the summons, and laid before him several cases of cruelty and of murder. Mr. Read also wrote to the Governor, expressing his willingness to lay the facts before his Excellency. The Governor accordingly requested both Mr. Read and Dr. Vanderkemp to appear before him at Cape Town. They immediately obeyed the summons; and produced such evidence of intolerable oppressions as satisfied him that a strict investigation ought to take place. A special commission

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was appointed by the Earl of Caledon, for the above purpose; but, before the investigation could take place, Doctor Vanderkemp was called to make his appearance before another tribunal.

The solemn time had arrived, when this distinguished individual was to be released from his labours, and called up to the joy of his Lord. On the morning of Saturday, Dec. 7th, 1811, he expounded a chapter with much freedom; after which, finding himself indisposed, he said to a venerable mother in Israel, who had formerly resided at the settlement in Bethelsdorp, "Oh! Mrs. Smith, I find myself extremely weak; I should be glad to have an opportunity to settle my own affairs." But, alas! this opportunity was not afforded. He was seized the same evening with a cold shivering; a fever ensued, and he retired to his bed. From that bed he rose no more. His disorder rapidly advanced, notwithstanding the use of suitable means; and his surrounding friends could not but entertain the most painful forebodings of the fatal result. It might have been hoped that a man who had devoted so many years of active life to the service of his Lord, and whose lips had fed such multitudes with spiritual knowledge, would have been enabled to instruct and strengthen his afflicted friends with his dying testimony to the truth and excellency of that holy gospel, to promote which he had made such uncommon sacrifices. But so great was the violence of his disorder, that he was rendered almost incapable of speaking; a lethargic heaviness suppressed his powers, and it was with great difficulty he could be prevailed upon even to answer a question. When one of the friends, however, who called upon him a day or two before his decease, asked him, What was the state of

his mind?—his short, but emphatic and satisfactory answer was—" All is well." And in reply to a similar inquiry—" Is it light or dark with you?" he said " Light!" Light, in the best sense, it doubtless was. The light of his Redeemer's countenance illuminated the darksome valley of the shadow of death, the harbinger of that brighter light which is sown for the righteous,—that gladness which awaits the upright in heart.

The history of Dr. Vanderkemp is so interwoven with the history of our missionary efforts in South Africa, that I shall be excused if I extend this chapter a little further by a few additional remarks upon his character.

Dr. Vanderkemp was certainly one of the most extraordinary characters of his age; his natural talents were of a high order, and in him they were united with intellectual and moral qualities, which fitted him for great exertions. Among scholars he maintained an eminent rank; he could read and write in sixteen different languages; the Latin was as familiar to him as his own vernacular tongue; the criticisms he has left behind him on the Greek and Hebrew text of the Scriptures, written in Greek and Hebrew, showed that he had excelled in sacred literature; he had also acquired considerable skill in Armenian, Arabic, Persic, and Syriac. Among his books, I found a copy of Bayle's dictionary, with the margins covered with notes written in French, which showed great metaphysical acuteness; and several works in the German language, with notes in German. Even when he was between fifty and sixty years of age, his talents for acquiring languages enabled

him to master the first principles of any language, to which he applied his mind, in the course of three or four months. During the few months he was in Cafferland, he drew up a rough sketch of a grammar of the Caffer language, and formed a vocabulary of about eight hundred words.

His attainments in science were equal to his acquirements in literature. Such was his skill in mathematics, that he was regarded, when in the army, as a man likely to improve the art of fortification, and the military tactics of his country. The proficiency he had made in medicine, and his reputation as a physician in Holland, have been already noticed; and his knowledge of chemistry, natural history, comparative anatomy, and botany, would have enabled him to have done honour to a professorship in any one of those sciences, in any of the universities of Europe.

In contemplating the situation of Vanderkemp, as a missionary in Africa, we are justified in adopting the words of Professor Krom, in a preface written by that gentleman, to one of the doctor's theological works, published in Germany:—"How powerful must have been the conviction of Dr. Vanderkemp's mind of the truth and divine origin of the doctrines of the bible; how deeply must such a mind have been penetrated with the most cordial love to the cause of our blessed Redeemer!"

However we may differ from him in some of his opinions; whatever notion we may form of some of his peculiarities, now "that death has set his seal upon his character, and placed it beyond the reach of fortune," it will be admitted by every one whose mind has been elevated by an enlarged benevolence, that

such a sacrifice of personal comfort, such a consecration of talents, of literature, and of science, as is exhibited in the example before us, in an attempt to evangelize, to civilize, and to elevate one of the most oppressed and degraded classes of human beings, furnishes one of the most sublime spectacles upon earth.

It may be remarked by some, that Africa was not a sphere sufficiently extensive for such great and varied attainments: but when we consider how much the aborigines of that country wanted, at that time, a protector; and reflect upon the courage, the zeal, the incorruptible integrity, and the weight of character attached to Dr. Vanderkemp, we must admire the wisdom of Providence in directing his attention to this sphere of action. He is entitled to the praise of pure disinterestedness, a quality of great importance in a missionary. To the missionaries who were his fellow labourers, he was a father and an adviser. His history in Africa furnishes sufficient proofs of his zeal and his devotedness to the great objects of his mission; but it is to his exertions in the cause of the oppressed aborigines that we are to look for the grandeur of his character, and the most efficient part of his services*.

Others may have been more successful than even Vanderkemp in conveying the elementary parts of instruction to the savages under their care; and it was less matter of surprise to find him occasionally in-

* A gentleman well acquainted with the circumstances of Dr. Vanderkemp, in a letter addressed to the Rev. G. Burder, secretary to the London Missionary Society, dated the 31st of May, 1826, uses the following expressions:—"You well recollect the struggles that the late Dr. Vanderkemp had for the poor Hottentots: he died in the battle, when at Cape Town, to represent their sufferings."

vigorating his mind with the abstruse studies, to which he had been formerly accustomed, than to observe him, so frequently as he was to be seen, with the alphabet in his hand, teaching the savages their letters; but some of the missionaries, who were in Africa at that time, who supposed he paid too much attention to his studies and his books, have since admitted that it was owing to his persevering and vigorous efforts, that they had been allowed to continue their labours, and that unmitigated slavery is not now the law of the land.

In a country where slavery obtains, the mind cannot remain long in a state of neutrality. By a residence in such a country, a stranger from Europe will either have his aversion to the slave system increased, or that aversion will gradually subside, and his sympathies for the slave will at last be exchanged, perhaps imperceptibly to himself, for the views and feelings of the master. This assimilation to the feelings of the slave-holder, is a process which is often completed, before the person, under the deteriorating influence by which it is carried on, is aware of the change. Men, without a high degree of religious and moral principle, may be brought by habit and familiarity to tolerate any thing. "When pains, punishments, torture, and death are made the business of mankind, compassion, the joint associate of the heart, is driven from its place, and the eye, accustomed to continual cruelty, can behold it without offence." If these remarks give a correct view of the effect of a familiarity with the natural evils of slavery, they are still more applicable to the influence of the habitual view of its demoralizing tendency—the most objectionable, revolting, and yet infectious part of the system.

We are not acquainted with the abstract views entertained by Dr. Vanderkemp on this question previous to his arrival in South Africa, but the features under which the subject was presented to him when he became a missionary, produced an effect upon his mind which gave rise to one of the most objectionable actions of his whole life, and which gave currency to calumnies circulated against him by his enemies, which otherwise would have never gained credit beyond the circle in which they had originated. During the first years of his residence in South Africa, he redeemed, out of his own private property, seven slaves; and one of these he married,—from a sympathy, I firmly believe, with the degraded condition of that class of people, and from a mistaken notion that he would, by that means, elevate them. His benevolence in this instance is more to be admired than his knowledge of human nature, and he lived to see and regret his mistake.

And here I may remark, that from the flexibility of the human mind, easily to accommodate itself to its circumstances, arises one of the greatest dangers missionaries have to encounter among uncivilized tribes; and they require all the aid to be derived from the society of cultivated females to preserve unbroken the habits formerly acquired in the intercourse of civilized life*.

* I have been informed by some missionaries, that, after having resided several years among savage tribes, they found on their return to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the etiquette of society such a burden to them, that they frequently found it a relief to steal from company, that they might resign themselves to the freedom to which they were accustomed among the natives, who had accompanied them, and who attended their waggons.

Dr. Vanderkemp had faults: his mind was not cast in the common mould; but "the front of his offending" in the eyes of the colonists was, his hatred of oppression, and his uncompromising zeal for the cause of the oppressed. But for this, every thing else would have been easily forgiven; and he would have been as much the object of admiration among the abettors of oppression as he was the subject of their aversion and hatred.

I feel no difficulty in applying to this remarkable individual the character of a true missionary, as delineated by the late Bishop Hurd, in his sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"The difficulties, the dangers, the distresses of all sorts, which must be encountered by the Christian missionary, require a more than ordinary degree of virtue, and will be only sustained by him whom a fervent love of Christ, and the quickening graces of his spirit have anointed, as it were, and consecrated him to this arduous service. Then it is that we have seen the faithful minister of the word go forth with the zeal of an apostle, and the constancy of a martyr. We have seen him forsake ease and affluence, a competency, at least, and the ordinary comforts of society; and with the gospel in his hand, and his Saviour in his heart, make his way through burning deserts and the howling wilderness, braving the rage of climates, and all the inconveniences of long and perilous voyages; submitting to the drudgery of learning barbarous languages, and to the disgust of complying with barbarous manners; watching the dark suspicions, and exposed to the capricious fury of savages; courting their offensive society, adopting their loathsome customs, and assimi-

lating his very nature almost to theirs; in a word, enduring all things, and becoming all things towards them, in the patient hope of finding a way to their good opinion; and of succeeding finally in his unwearied endeavours to make the word of life and salvation not unacceptable to them.

"I confess, when I reflect on all these things, I humble myself before such heroic virtue; or rather, I adore the grace of God in Christ Jesus, which is able to produce such examples of it in our degenerate world."

Dr. Vanderkemp's mind was truly independent in all its movements. He might occasionally assume too high ground, when called upon to vindicate the Hottentots: his letters to the governor, and other constituted authorities of the colony, might have too much sharpness in them; but it may be urged in his defence that his provocations were great; that this very fault arose from his instinctive abhorrence of injustice and oppression; and that while the warmth of his benevolent zeal occasionally involved him in trouble, it has had the happiest influence in protecting the Hottentots against much suffering, which they must have otherwise endured, and has laid the foundation of those civil liberties which it is to be hoped will be speedily secured to them.

"Servant of God, well done; well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained,
Against revolted multitudes, the cause
Of Truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care,
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse."—MILTON.

I shall conclude this digression, if it may be so called, by an observation arising naturally out of the view just given of Dr. Vanderkemp's character.

While the directors of our Missionary Societies should not be wholly indifferent to the opinion of the world, in respect to our missionaries, there are circumstances under which they should be careful how they receive anything prejudicial to their reputation, even through the medium of their professed friends. This remark is particularly applicable where their missionaries or agents are men of eminent abilities, and where their circumstances require a deviation from the humble routine of ordinary life. Like persons standing on an elevated ground, we easily comprehend the situation of those who are beneath us, while we find it impossible to form any suitable conception of the situation of those who are placed in more elevated situations. The conversations, the generalizations, the plans of superior men are unintelligible to little minds; and nothing is more usual with us in common life than to censure what we do not understand.

On the arrival of the deputation of the London Missionary Society, in South Africa, of which I was a member, the clamour against Dr. Vanderkemp was so loud, and so universal,—the stories circulated respecting him, to the prejudice of his character, were so numerous, so minute in their details, and appeared to be so well authenticated, that I was above eighteen months in the colony before the unfavourable impression made upon my own mind was removed. The missionaries, to whom I was introduced on my first arrival in the colony, were not personally acquainted with him; and they had listened to the re-

ports and imbibed the prejudices of his enemies. One or two well-meaning individuals, whom I afterwards met, who had some slight acquaintance with him, thought him a good man, and vindicated him against the calumnies circulated against him, but they could not sympathise with him in his zeal for the rights of the Hottentots.

The missionaries are the only real protectors the Hottentots have in South Africa. At the missionary stations the Hottentots are treated like rational beings, and there they are taught the value of their labour; and these circumstances are crimes as unpardonable in the eyes of their oppressors, as opposition in parliament to the continuance of slavery is, in the eyes of the West India planters, and its other abettors. The proprietors, in our sugar islands, are not more alarmed by any plan proposed for the abolition of slavery, than the inhabitants of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope are by any exertions to improve the character of the Hottentots, and to raise them above their present degradation, so as to place them in circumstances where they might acquire property, and become independent.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarks on the Colonial Proclamation of 1809.*

To explain the nature of the struggle which Dr. Vanderkemp and succeeding missionaries have had to maintain in South Africa, in their attempts to introduce religion and civilization among the native tribes, and to set in a clear point of view the obstacles thrown in their way, not only by the local authorities, but by the government itself,—I shall, in this and the subsequent chapter, offer some remarks on the laws respecting the Hottentots, which have served to perpetuate and screen every kind of abuse; and I shall begin with the proclamation of 1809, which has been most erroneously styled the "Magna Charta of the Hottentots."

"General reasonings," says one of the most acute writers † of the last century, "seem intricate merely because they are general; nor is it easy for the bulk of mankind to distinguish, in a great number of particulars, that common circumstance in which they all agree, or to extract it, pure and unmixed, from the other superfluous circumstances. Every judgment or conclusion, with them, is particular. They cannot enlarge their view to those general propositions which comprehend under them an infinite number of particulars, and include a whole science in a single theorem. Their eye is confounded with such an extensive prospect; and

* For this proclamation, see APPENDIX. † Hume.

the conclusions derived from it, even though clearly expressed, seem intricate and obscure."

These remarks have been suggested to my memory oftener than once, on reading the praises bestowed by an intelligent writer on the proclamation of 1809 respecting the rights and privileges of the Hottentots. An individual not well acquainted with the interior of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, would require great perspicacity indeed to be able to detect the lurking mischief which exists in this proclamation, under the ambiguous phrases by which it is concealed.

I shall begin my strictures on the proclamation by giving a brief abstract of its contents in the following points:—It enacts that the individuals of the Hottentot nation, in the *same manner* as the other inhabitants of the colony, shall be subject to proper regularity in regard to their places of abode and occupation;—that no Hottentot shall be allowed to leave the district or field-cornetcy in which he resides without the consent of the landdrost;—that every person hiring a Hottentot for more than a month, shall enter into and sign a written contract with him before a magistrate, in which shall be stated the names of the parties contracting, the terms of their contract, the amount of wages, when to be paid, &c. &c., and each party to be furnished with a copy;—that the person so contracting shall be at liberty to include his wife and children in the contract, who are also to be supplied with clothing and the necessaries of life;—that at the expiration of his agreement the Hottentot shall be at liberty to depart with his family and cattle, or what other property he may have, if he chooses, and enter into the service of another

master, *or act in any other manner the laws of the colony admit*;—that in case the master do not pay the wages at the time agreed on, the Hottentot is allowed to lodge a complaint against him before the landdrost and heemraden, who shall not only oblige the master to pay, but shall cause him to forfeit his claim to the rest of the time of the contract, and the amount of such necessaries as he shall have provided;—that in case of ill-treatment, proved by the Hottentot before the landdrost and heemraden, the master shall be fined from ten to fifty rix-dollars, and the servant be discharged; if, however, he fails in his proof, and it is found that he has urged complaints wantonly and maliciously, he shall receive such correction as the nature of the case shall require;—that in case of ill-treatment accompanied with mutilation, the fiscal or landdrost shall prosecute according to the law of the colony;—that should the Hottentot request it, the master may supply him with clothing, and other necessaries, as part of his wages, provided the value of such supplies shall, at the time they were given, be notified to the wardmaster or field-cornet, who, on the Hottentot's affirming the same, shall keep a register of it, lest any dispute should arise about the payment of wages;—that spirituous liquors shall not be considered necessaries, nor any allowance deducted for them;—that in case the Hottentot has been supplied with more articles than the amount of his wages, the master shall not on that account have any claim on the Hottentot's future services, or detain his wife and children after the time of contract has expired, on a pretence of security for what he may owe, but shall prosecute the Hottentot before the landdrost, who, upon finding the claim to be well founded, shall condemn the

Hottentot to pay it, and leaving the master to carry the condemnation into effect;—that in case of the death of the Hottentot, his wife and children shall be at liberty to leave the service, unless personally engaged;—that the Hottentot shall be bound to serve his master, during the time of his contract, diligently and honestly, with proper submission, on penalty of receiving (on well founded complaints) domestic correction, by order of the landdrost, confiscation of wages, temporary confinement, and in cases of contumacy more severe domestic punishment, and be compelled to serve the full time of the agreement;—that in cases of public criminal offence he is to be prosecuted by the fiscal or landdrost in the usual manner;—that no person shall hire a Hottentot without his having a certificate, either from his master or the fiscal or landdrost, declaring that he is at liberty to engage with another master;—and, lastly, that every Hottentot going about the country, either in the service of his master or other lawful business, must be provided with a pass, either from his master or a magistrate, on penalty of being treated as a vagabond; every one to whose house a Hottentot comes being authorized to demand his pass, and in case he is not provided with one, to deliver him to the next magistrate, who shall act, after due inquiry, as he shall feel incumbent upon him.

After paying a just tribute of praise to the character of Lord Caledon, the able author of the "State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*," notices three different

* The author of this work, though he has not given his name to it, is well known to be W. Wilberforce Bird, Esq., a gentleman to whose kindness and urbanity I have pleasure in acknowledging myself under many obligations, both in his private capacity and as

measures of his government as deserving of praise, viz. the establishment of the Circuits Court; the supplying Cape Town with water; and this proclamation, which he calls the "Magna Charta" of the Hottentots. On the first of these measures we shall not now make any remarks; and, as we have no concern with the second, we shall confine our attention to the last.

"This proclamation," says our author, "rescued the Hottentots from a system of hardship and cruelty practised towards them by the Boors, which would, in a short time, have extinguished the race: so great was their terror of their barbarous masters, that it was in the dead of night, when, unseen by their vindictive employers, they ventured to communicate their wrongs, and to implore the mercy of the governor, at that time on a journey through the frontier." That the Hottentots applied to Lord Caledon in this manner, and that his lordship intended this proclamation should afford them relief, are facts I see no reason to doubt. In travelling through the colony, I have had Hottentots who have travelled many miles under night to show me the marks of cruelty inflicted upon their bodies, and to plead with me that they might have liberty to join a missionary institution. If such occurrences were frequent during my recent journies into the interior, there can be no reason to suppose they did not take place in 1808; and it was, perhaps, fortunate for the individual Hottentots who at that period applied to his Excel-

a public servant of the government; but on the subject now under consideration, as well as several others discussed or referred to in his otherwise valuable book, I must express opinions altogether at variance with those of the author.

lency, that such a man as Lord Caledon was governor of the colony, and that they could find the means of access to him.

In 1821 above a dozen Hottentots came from a considerable distance to Cape Town, to throw themselves at the feet of the acting governor, to pray for deliverance from cruel oppression; and many more would have followed their example from the same place, had I not prevented them. This circumstance of the Hottentots applying to Lord Caledon, shows that they were oppressed, and, were that benevolent nobleman to visit that colony and make a tour through it, he would find as many complaints of the same nature as those which gave rise to the proclamation of 1809. All the enactments which emanated from the head and heart of Lord Caledon were characterized by wisdom and benevolence; but it is no reflection on his lordship to say that he might be deceived, when he was under the necessity of submitting to the judgment of others. The proclamation of 1809 was a case of this nature: the most important part of this proclamation was suggested to Colonel Collins, his Majesty's Commissioner, mentioned above, by an individual well known to have been deeply interested in oppressing the Hottentots. By Colonel Collins these suggestions were handed over to another gentleman, who claimed to himself, in my hearing, the whole merit of the proclamation, telling me that it was "a child of his own."

Under the Dutch government, the farmers had always a number of Hottentots about them, and, when these left their service, if they did not escape from that part of the country, or meet with protection, they were frequently compelled to return to them; but, while the

farmer exercised an authority of this kind, contrary to law, the Hottentots might occasionally obtain redress, and many of that nation were then allowed to wander over the colony, in a state of freedom, with their herds and flocks. Does this proclamation go to the root of this evil? Does it set aside the unjust claims of the farmers on the Hottentots? The very reverse is the case: it legalizes those claims, and it consigns the Hottentots and their posterity to universal and hopeless slavery.

The preamble of this proclamation states that—"Whereas, for the benefit of this colony at large, it is necessary, that not only the individuals of the Hottentot nation, in the same manner as the other inhabitants, should be subject to proper regularity, in regard to their places of abode and occupations, but also that they should find *encouragement* for entering the service of the inhabitants, to leading an indolent life," &c. &c. One might have been led to expect from this preamble, that the Hottentots were to be placed under the *same regulations* with the *other inhabitants*, and that this auspicious introduction was to be followed by a string of regulations, protecting them from oppression, and, at the same time, specifying the encouragement they were to meet with. But whatever were the intentions of Lord Caledon, the provisions of this enactment, it will soon be perceived, were totally inadequate to produce such a result. Had it been intended that the Hottentots should be under the same regulations with the colonists, as it respected their places of abode and their occupations, a separate article in the proclamation on this head was unnecessary; the publication of the existing laws of the colony, having a relation to the colo-

nists, was all that was required: but, instead of being placed under the same laws with the colonists, it will be seen, when we enter a little more into detail, that the whole Hottentot population are, by this very proclamation, placed in a state of the most wretched servitude, and entirely left at the disposal of the colonists.

In the second Article of this proclamation, ordaining that every person having a Hottentot for a month or more, shall enter into a written contract, &c. there are many good provisions; but, in consequence of the omission to provide for a particular case, much hardship is experienced by the Hottentots under contract among the colonists.

As the law now stands, as established by the provisions of this Article, the Hottentot, in entering into a contract, engages to labour for a given period; and it not unfrequently happens, that, from some unavoidable cause, as illness, or the meeting with some dangerous accident, he is prevented from actually labouring during the whole period of the contract, but, as no provision is made for such an occurrence, the following practice is usually adopted:—the contractor insists that the terms of the contract have not been fulfilled, and that it is, therefore, necessary that such Hottentot should remain, and work out those days, or weeks, or months, during which he may, from the causes above-mentioned, have been prevented from fulfilling (as it is termed) his engagement. This is a practice, I believe, unknown in other civilized states, and is one of those hardships which is peculiar to the condition of the unfortunate aborigines of South Africa. In colonies, where the working classes are all common slaves, it is impracticable, for, in such circumstances, such losses must devolve upon the proprietor.

The third Article of the proclamation requires no remarks. The fourth contains a clause which is not very obvious in its tendency, but which neutralizes all its more liberal provisions. It is ordained in this article, that a Hottentot, when the period of his servitude has expired, "is at liberty, with his wife and children, if they are with him, and with all his cattle, and other property, of whatever nature it may be, to leave his master, and enter into another's service; or," it is added, "to act in any other manner the laws of the colony admit of." It is to the last clause that the censure contained in the preceding remarks is pointed.

The phrase, "the laws of the colony admit of," is liable to similar objections with that part of the preamble on which I have already made some animadversions. To say the least, it has left the meaning of the governor undefined, and thereby opened a door for the introduction of a system of the most cruel oppression. Here I must be allowed to ask, what is the *other* manner in which the laws of the colony admit Hottentots to act? The Hottentot has but one or other of the alternatives which follow; he must again enter into service at the pleasure of his superior, or be treated as a vagabond. Is any Hottentot at liberty to make a purchase of land? or have grants ever been offered to any one of these natives of government land in any part either in the country or in the villages? or is he at liberty, without the permission of government, to possess himself of unoccupied spots, upon which he might maintain his cattle, and there take up his fixed abode, in conformity with the provisions of Article 1st? or, further, do the laws of the colony admit of his proceeding beyond the boundaries of the colony with his cattle and all his property? or, finally, is he at liberty, consistently even with these

laws, to enter ad libitum into our institutions? And if so, have those institutions sufficient land to enable them to support the cattle of all those Hottentots who might wish to avail themselves of the option? If it be found, on obtaining replies to these several queries, that the laws of the colony do not admit of Hottentots acting in any of the modes stated above, surely it will be allowed that some further provision is required, pointing out the precise manner of acting which "the laws of the colony" do admit of: and unhappily for the Hottentot nation, this omission in the proclamation has operated as a very serious hardship, and has doubtless contributed to frustrate the benevolent intentions of the governor towards them.

From the above premises, it is evident that the Hottentots have no option left them but to exchange one service for another, till age or infirmities have rendered them unfit to labour, or till they reach that state where "the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling."

By the omission of which we complain in this proclamation, the Hottentots are evidently left by government without any security for their property; for of course cattle (which, it is well known, forms the chief property of a Hottentot) can never be considered as secured by law to those persons who are prevented, through the operation of those same laws, from possessing one inch of land.

Further, they are condemned to a perpetual state of servitude, nor have they the power, by any exertion, however great and praiseworthy, of liberating themselves from the bondage; for, no sooner is the period of their contract for serving one inhabitant expired, but it becomes necessary for them to enter into service again;

and the only option left to the Hottentot is, whether he will engage himself to the same master, or to another. Their condition, therefore, is, in this respect, more deplorable even than that of the slaves, for the latter have generally a hope, however faint, that they may possibly one day obtain their freedom; and the kindness of a master, or their own exertions, may in some cases realize it; but to the Hottentot nation, or, at least, to by far the greater portion of it, no such hope is held out.

Another consequence that has ensued from this omission is, that the usual practice observed now, at least in the district of Uitenhage, by landdrosts, field-cornets, and also by the inhabitants generally, appears to be altogether at variance with the intended purposes of government; for being, it is supposed, unable to discover the other manner of acting, permitted to Hottentots by the laws of the colony, they seem generally to have drawn a conclusion, that there is no other method than that of serving them. The custom now, therefore, is, for a master to give to his Hottentot servant, at the expiration of the time stipulated in his contract, a pass to the nearest field-cornet, by whom he is usually informed that he must contract again immediately; or, if that is not done, he is provided with a pass to the landdrost of the district, who may direct him to find a master in two weeks, two days, or (as far as any security goes that the law provides against it) in two hours, if it be his will.

In the sixth Article we have a specimen of the redress which the Hottentot has to expect on preferring a complaint of ill treatment against his master:—If the injury sustained does not amount to mutilation, that is to say, the loss of an arm, or an eye, &c. the punishment

is to be commuted by a fine not exceeding fifty rix-dollars, and not under ten rix-dollars; but if it is found that the Hottentot has urged his complaint wantonly and maliciously, it is ordained, that he shall receive such *correction* as the nature of the case shall require. While it is recollected that the judges in these cases are themselves farmers (for an appeal to the court of circuit by a Hottentot, in such cases, is out of the question, and, I may add, would prove useless,) the offender can have little to apprehend, and the complainant but little to hope for. When a Hottentot complains, he is immediately *put into the prison*, in durance vile, till his master or mistress, against whom the complaint is made, can be brought to appear to answer the complaint before the landdrost.

In this miserable situation the complaining Hottentot may be three days or three weeks before the master is brought to an examination. Such a law might be made to discourage complaints; and a statute which should make it capital for a Hottentot to complain against his master would have the same effect; but while it discourages complaints, it excludes the poor Hottentots from the very hope of redress, and shuts them up in reckless despair. After the wretched sufferer has perhaps crept on his hands and his knees to escape from his oppressor, and has been obliged to seek his way to the drostdy, in the night, and conceal himself among the bushes through the day, lest he should be discovered and seized by his oppressor before he has lodged his complaint, he is treated as a criminal, by being put in prison; and before any investigation takes place, he is subjected to what in England would be considered as a severe punishment.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARAS

From such a commencement the result may be anticipated.

According to the law of *habeas corpus*, the accused party can demand a trial on a certain day, beyond which it cannot be delayed; but the injured party, in the case of the poor Hottentot, is not only imprisoned on making his complaint, but he may be kept there during the pleasure of the local authority, or till the aggressor, if he be a favourite with that authority, find it convenient to answer to the charges preferred against him. When the period at which the Hottentot is to be heard arrives, a scene is presented in perfect keeping with the other parts of the colonial system. The Hottentot is dragged from his dungeon, pale and emaciated, and perhaps labouring under a pulmonary complaint, which has been much aggravated by the unwholesome and damp air of the cell in which he has been confined, to take the place of a prisoner at the bar of the worshipful court before which he is to be tried; while the farmer is all this time seen strutting about through the court-house,—either biting his lips as he glances a disdainful eye at the accuser, (whom I must call the prisoner,) or whispering into the ears of his judges, intimating the familiar terms on which they stand, or bullying and setting them at defiance. The trial at last commences with a string of questions put to the prisoner, (that is, the accuser,) by the court, or by his master. All the time this species of torture is going forward, the members of the court and the spectators are making significant motions to each other by certain nods of the head, movements of the eyelids, and sardonic grins; and during all this process, the Hottentot hears in whispers around him, such phrases as

"he'll catch it;" "you may see in that Hottentot's face what is awaiting him; these filthy beasts are ruined by indulgence; they are the most idle, worthless set of people upon earth; they are good for nothing till their backs are tanned with the shamboc!"

Such is the tremendous risk under which a Hottentot must enter a complaint against his master before a magistrate, that he may suffer the most cruel hardships in prison before his complaint is heard; and after it is heard, in a great majority of cases in which his complaints are well founded, he may be severely flogged for having made them, and compelled to return to the service of the man whose cruelties he before found insupportable, and whose treatment is not likely to become milder by the means taken to obtain redress.

Nothing is said in the proclamation respecting the imprisonment of the complainant, and the practice may have crept in, like some others, from an omission in the proclamation in not providing against such an abuse of power.

It was justly remarked by Mr. Bigge, "that it is impossible to conceive a worse state of things in a country, than that in which there exists one set of laws for the rich, and another for the poor *." This state of things must always exist in every country where the rich are the law-makers, and have the execution of the

* For this liberal remark, I am indebted to Thomas J. Bigge, Esq., one of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, recently at the Cape of Good Hope. If, as it is to be hoped, the report of the Commissioners, which is to be laid before Parliament, is pervaded by the spirit of this observation, the labours of that individual and his coadjutors will entitle them to the lasting gratitude of the inhabitants of South Africa, and of that of the inhabitants of all the foreign dependencies of the British crown.

laws in their own hands, without any checks upon their authority. It may be asked, what is the punishment of a farmer if he brings a false accusation against a Hottentot? How does it happen that this case has been left unprovided for, and in a proclamation said to have been devised for the protection of the Hottentots? Did this omission take place on the same principles on which a celebrated state of antiquity is said to have omitted enacting any law against parricide, because they believed it was impossible that such a crime could ever be committed?

By comparing the preceding details with the following case, copied from the pages of an unsuspected witness, the reader will perceive whether "the individuals of the Hottentot nation" have justice dealt out to them, "in the same manner as the other inhabitants" of the colony.

"Lebricht Aris" (a Hottentot) "owed twelve dollars to a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gnadenthal, and not having the means to pay, engaged with the Boor abovementioned, to work six months on his farm, at two dollars (three shillings) per month, and his *cost*, (victuals,) on condition that the Boor should immediately discharge his debt. He had worked two months, when his creditor again called on him, and threatened him with imprisonment unless he immediately paid the twelve dollars. In this distress he applied to a missionary, who lent him the money, for the payment of which he received a regular receipt from his creditor. This receipt the poor man had in his pocket, but being nearly frightened out of his senses by the violence of the Boor's behaviour, he forgot to produce it at the field-cornet's. After discovering the Boor's neglect to

fulfil his engagement to pay his creditor, he now not only refused to work any longer with so faithless a master, but had a demand upon him for four dollars, being two months' pay. The Boor, however, most unjustly insisted on his serving him the remaining four months, under pretence of a contract. But no written agreement having been made and signed in presence of a field-cornet, which is required to bind a Hottentot to his employer for any stated time, the field-cornet discharged him for the present, without further explanation. Lebricht, after recovering his spirits, stated his case satisfactorily to us, and, on our return, I submitted it to the landdrost of Swellendam, who sent a proper reproof to the unjust Boor*." I wish Mr. Latrobe had furnished us with a copy of the note containing this "proper reproof," which he describes as having been sent to the unjust boor.

While a Hottentot is flogged, because he fails to prove charges brought against his master, which, according to the Dutch law, it requires two witnesses to establish, we see a Dutch boor, who had, in this instance, committed crimes, for which a Hottentot would have been flogged, and branded, and sent to work in irons, escaping with what Mr. Latrobe is pleased to term "a just reproof," which appears to have been sent in a note, that he had, perhaps, never seen, or, perhaps, in the form of a verbal message.

In a slave colony, the partiality which is naturally entertained by man for the whip, becomes one of the strongest passions in the human breast; and, for reasons which will afterwards be stated, the Hottentot

* Latrobe's Visit to South Africa, p. 122.

is more obnoxious to the ungovernable effects of this passion than the slave. The principle which induces the despot to prefer the obsequiousness of a nation of slaves to the independence and dignity of a free people, shuts the ears of the slave proprietor and the Hottentot master to all the advantages which can be urged in favour of free labour. He would find himself more in his element, and in a situation more congenial to his mind, with the coarsest fare, among a parcel of slaves and Hottentots, over whom he could exercise an uncontrolled authority, than the greatest affluence would afford him, in a situation where he could command no class of rational beings, over whom he could tyrannize.

The remark of Tacitus, that "there is nothing so sweet to man as the life of man," is not more severe, as a reflection on human nature, than it is just, as respects its accordance with truth; and any system, which proposes to substitute free labour in the place of slave labour, is as great a bugbear to the generality of men accustomed to treat a particular class of their fellow creatures as slaves, as the representative system of Great Britain, or of Portugal, is to Ferdinand of Spain and his advisers and masters, who would rather see a country converted into a desert, than the inhabitants breathing the air of freedom. The love of the chase in the breast of the sportsman is a weak passion, in comparison with the love of despotic authority in the breasts of men who have been accustomed to hunt down any class of their fellow creatures, as the gentlemen in England are accustomed to treat the game of the country.

It is alleged by the abettors and apologists of the

colonial system of oppression, in relation to the Hottentots and the other aborigines of the country, that corporal punishment is the only means by which they can be induced to labour. As these people are now placed among the colonists, having no other inducement to labour, there is, perhaps, some truth in this assertion; but a temporary stimulus, in this case, is mistaken for a cure; and it is forgotten that the continual use of strong medicines renders those under their operation incapable of being acted upon by more gentle ones. If the commands of a father are seldom given, except when accompanied with threats and blows, the son will come to think that he is never in earnest when these arguments are wanting.

While a complete refutation of this objection may be found, by a reference to the present state of our missionary institutions, I cannot close my remarks on this proclamation without adverting to the degrading influence of this system upon the Hottentot character. The vices of the Hottentots are the vices of their condition; and they are generated and perpetuated by the very system which is pleaded as necessary for their cure. "A people," says a profound thinker, "are cultivated or unimproved in their talents, in proportion as those talents are employed in the practice of the arts and the affairs of society; they are improved or corrupted in their manners, in proportion as they are encouraged and directed to act on the maxims of freedom and justice, or as they are degraded into a state of meanness and servitude." The Hottentot is in a worse condition than the slave: the system of oppression under which the Hottentot groans is attended with all the evils of the slave system; and those evils, in

many instances, more aggravated in the virulence of their character, without any of those mitigating circumstances which have been urged in defence of common slavery. The only difference in favour of the condition of the Hottentot is, that he cannot, according to the institutions of the colony, be publicly bought and sold; but this difference is more in name than in reality, when it is recollected that he is at present nothing more than an object of patronage, a perquisite of office, a kind of transferable property; and that this circumstance, which makes him of less value to the master, subjects him to hardships, from which the common slave is, to a certain degree, exempted.

While all that the Hottentot gains, by being transferred from one master to another, is little more than the slave enjoys, on a West India plantation, in being transferred from under the jurisdiction of one overseer to that of another, the circumstance in the case of the Hottentot, that this transfer may be made, and the master lose his service, without any pecuniary indemnification, must lessen the interest the master feels in the well-being of the Hottentot, while he remains with him.

It is on this principle that the food of the Hottentot is generally of an inferior quality, and less in quantity than that allowed the slave—that he seldom has any medical assistance afforded him when he is sick—that the punishments inflicted upon him are in general more frequent and more severe than those inflicted upon the slave, the master sustaining no loss of property should his constitution sink under his hardships.

A gentleman from India, a friend of mine, had the following reason assigned by the keeper of an hotel in

Stellenbosch, for refusing him a chaise to carry him to Cape Town, in a very cold and wet day:—"Had I," said the host, "a prize slave or a Hottentot, you should have had a chaise at once, but I have no one to drive you, excepting that slave (pointing to the man), and he might catch cold and die; and it would be madness in me to run the risk of losing four thousand rix-dollars, which he cost me, for all that I have to receive for a stage of twenty-five miles."

The following circumstance, related to me by a gentleman of the Madras civil service, now in England, as having taken place when he visited Pacaltsdorp, one of our missionary stations, will serve as a further illustration of this subject.

While he was reprobating the punishments of the Hottentots, a farmer, standing by, defended the system by pointing to a Hottentot who wanted one hand: "I can assure you," said the farmer, with great coolness, "that Hottentot was good for nothing till the master with whom he then was chopped off his hand one day with an axe, and he has ever since been one of the most useful and industrious Hottentots in the country." Had this Hottentot been a slave to the same master, it is questionable whether he would have adopted exactly the same method of improving his value.

Instances of oppression now in my possession, which might be adduced to illustrate this point, are sufficiently numerous to fill a volume; but I shall content myself at present with the following, out of many cases, which came under my own observation.

A Hottentot woman, belonging to the missionary institution at Pacaltsdorp, in an advanced state of pregnancy, called upon me, at my own house in Cape Town,

to complain that her master had struck her, knocked her down, and kicked her in the side, and on the back, with his feet. Finding, by a medical inspection, that the woman's statement was correct, and that marks of her master's feet were visible on her body, I lodged a complainst against the master before his Majesty's deputy fiscal. On my complaint being lodged, the woman was taken from my house, according to the practice in respect to the Hottentots lodging complaints, and sent to the prison, to wait till the case should be investigated. Of delay I had no occasion to complain in this instance, for the case was heard next day. The facts having been proved, the master was found guilty of the charge exhibited against him.

There are several circumstances in this case deserving of notice. The master was a field-cornet, a petty magistrate in the district of George, and the Hottentot woman was a person of good character. It is proper, also, to add, that she was not a common servant; that she belonged to a missionary institution; and that she had been hired to attend the farmer's wife on this journey merely. The reader must, by this time, be anxious to hear the sentence pronounced upon this field-cornet, this functionary, for the brutality with which he had treated this defenceless woman; and when he considers the circumstances under which her case was brought to the notice of the deputy fiscal, he will scarcely be prepared to hear that the whole punishment inflicted upon this said field-cornet, was the annulling of the woman's engagement to him, together with a fine of five rix-dollars, being, in sterling money, seven shillings and ninepence. Contrary to the usual practice, the fine was allotted to the woman, (and this is the only in-

stance in which I ever knew such a thing having been done;) but this was all that was allowed her for the injury she had sustained, and to pay the expense of a residence in Cape Town of three weeks, waiting for an opportunity of returning home, and of a journey before her of two hundred-and-fifty miles. A slave master would have been in a very great passion indeed, before he would so far have lost sight of his interest as to have treated a female slave in this Hottentot's condition, as she was treated; and it is unnecessary to add that such a punishment as that inflicted upon the farmer, can afford no security to the Hottentot against the most horrible injuries.

The same cause, which leaves them without the aids of even a selfish sympathy in the service of their masters, deprives them of a protection which the slaves enjoy against the injuries to which they are exposed from strangers. The apprehension of the indignation of the master will, on many occasions, preserve the slave from maltreatment; but the Hottentot has no friend sufficiently interested in him to furnish him with a shield against bad usage; and such as are disposed to oppress him know this circumstance, and that they may trample upon him and his family with impunity.

On one of my visits to Bethelsdorp, I found a Hottentot who had been confined to his bed three months by contusions and cuts he had received on the head and the body, by stones and brickbats thrown at him as he was running round his own waggon in the street of Port Elizabeth, to avoid falling into the hands of a person who was pursuing him on purpose to beat him. The occasion of this assault was, I believe, because

the waggon of the Hottentot was not moved soon enough out of the way of one belonging to the assailant; and I am sorry to say that the individual who did this unmilitary-like action was an officer of the British army, then on half-pay, and a local authority of the district. Had this Hottentot been a slave, his master might have got damages against the offender; but the Hottentot had no one to take up his cause. Had any one, however, had the courage to incur the odium and dislike to which a prosecution would have subjected him, after infinite pains and trouble, a fine of a few rix-dollars would have been all the punishment which would have been inflicted in such a case; and the fine, according to the colonial practice, would have gone to the district chest, and no part of it would have been allowed to the injured Hottentot.

Among many cases of oppression which came under my notice, when on a visit to Bethelsdorp in 1821, the following may be taken as a sample of the nature of the domestic correction to which the Hottentots are subject, and of the attention which is paid to their complaints. On the second day after my arrival at this institution, a Hottentot belonging to it, in the service of one Van Buuren, came to me and complained that he and another Hottentot belonging to Bethelsdorp had been severely flogged by his master; the one for having asked leave to go to the institution on Sabbath-day to attend divine worship, and the other for having put water into an empty cask, of which he had drank himself, and of which he gave a share to some person standing by him. The young man who came and complained, had crept between four and five miles, (the distance from his master's to Bethelsdorp,) among the

bushes, that he might escape being detected and carried back to his master; and he stated that his fellow-servant was so much cut, that he was unable to move out of the place in which he slept. Having applied to Mr. Atherstone, a respectable surgeon at Uitenhage, and requested him to examine the wounds made on the young men, he sent me the following certificate.

(Copy) "*Uitenhage, Nov.* 3, 1821.

"My dear Sir,

"At your request, I have this day visited the two Hottentots, Jan Geawint and Andreas Schieman. They have been flogged on the naked breech, and the instrument by which the punishment has been inflicted has cut through the *cutis vera* in both, on Jan Geawint in about four places, and on the other in about a dozen places: on one the punishment was inflicted the 28th October, on the other on the following day; and it is my opinion that three or four days must elapse before they can recover.

"I am, &c. &c.,

(Signed) "J. Atherstone,
Surgeon, Member of the
Royal College of Surgeons, London."

"*To Dr. Philip,*
Bethelsdorp."

When Mr. Kitchingman, the missionary at the head of the institution, waited upon Mr. Van Buuren, he not only gave him no satisfaction, but he loaded him with oaths and curses, and told him that he would flog his Hottentot when and how he pleased, and that he might go and seek redress where he could find it.

I waited on Van Buuren a day or two after his interview with Mr. Kitchingman, and if he did not treat me with the same roughness, he had still enough of the

savage in his manners, to show me that it was not in that quarter in which I was to look for security or redress.

If such proceedings could take place with impunity so near a missionary institution, within a few miles of the seat of the chief magistrate of the district, and under his im .ediate eye, it is unnecessary to ask what must be the state of those who have no missionary to protect them, and who must travel long journies before they can bring their complaints to the ear of a landdrost.

This case, with many others of a similar character, was laid before the colonial government in Cape Town early in 1822; but no inquiry was ever instituted, no redress granted, and the system has proceeded, down to the time I left the colony, without any check.

Having shown the efficacious means employed to stifle even the complaints of the Hottentots, and their unprotected state in the service of the colonists, I must advert to another feature in their hard condition, which might have led us to suppose that the appellation of "*Free People*," bestowed upon them in the proclamations of the government, had been employed in cruel mockery, had we not known that it was intended to conceal from the British government, and the British public, the shocking state of slavery and oppression under which they have been placed.

When a Hottentot has given offence to his master, the master frequently sends him to the public prison, not to wait his trial, as such a proceeding would imply in England, and to have a punishment awarded him by a public magistrate, according to the nature of his crime, and the evidence of his guilt, but to be punished at the simple request of the master, without its

being necessary to exhibit any definite charge against the prisoner, or any other evidence of guilt than the testimony of the master.

The master has only to send a note along with the Hottentot, stating that this Hottentot (mentioning his name) has been insolent or disobedient; the master of the prison is requested to give him thirty-nine lashes, and the prisoner is tied up and flogged, and put into confinement till his master chooses to pay the prison expenses, and relieve him.

With such facts before us, can it be a question whether these poor people are treated like human beings?

Among the many hardships to which the Hottentot is subject by this proclamation, we must advert to the Law of Passes, contained in the 16th article. Every travelling Hottentot must have a pass, or a written permission signed by his master, or some local authority, stating that it is requested that the bearer (mentioning his name) be allowed to pass to a certain place. The pass may allow the Hottentot a day, or a week, or a month, or three months, as the person signing it may deem necessary. While he retains this pass, and while he is within the limits of the time which it allows him, it is his protection; but if he chance to lose his pass, or if the time granted in it has expired, he is liable to be treated as a vagabond, or as a deserter. England has its laws against vagabonds, but it will be seen by the sequel, that Cape law is not such as laws of that nature are in England—that it is not intended to protect the colonists, but to enslave the Hottentots.

There are liars and thieves among the Hottentots, but honesty, and a regard to truth, are prominent features in their national character, virtues which have not

been obliterated by the degraded state to which they have been reduced, and which furnish a striking contrast to the mendacious and pilfering habits prevalent among the slave population of the colony.

When the Hottentots were in a state of hostility against the farmers, as they were in the frontier districts at the time the English took possession of the colony, and till the mission of Dr. Vanderkemp commenced, there might be a propriety in such a regulation as the above, but if a necessity of the kind ever existed, it has long since ceased. But the real character of this regulation will be best seen by taking a brief view of its operation. As the practice, under this enactment now exists, it so happens, that if a Hottentot leave his home, he has no certainty of being permitted to return to it.

The Hottentot, having spent a night at the farmhouse, takes his departure in the morning: he is met a few miles distant by one of the same family, who demands a sight of his pass, and not being able to produce one, he is instantly dragged before the next field-cornet, and obliged to hire himself for a twelvemonth to a master. But it is seldom that so much address is employed, or that any regard is paid to appearances in cases of this nature. Two instances occurred to the Hottentots who accompanied me on my journey back to Cape Town in 1823, on their returning home, which I may here adduce in the way of illustration. One of these Hottentots, of the name of Willem, was knocked down upon the road, within fifty miles of Cape Town, and, after having had his pass taken from him, he was taken into custody, to be carried before a field-cornet, to be compelled to hire himself. In this instance the

oppressor was disappointed of his prey; the young man escaped in the evening, and, travelling under the cover of night, he reached Cape Town, and made me acquainted with his case.

On the arrival of the party, three in number, in the district of George, a farmer came up to Marootz, a Bechuanna, and demanded his pass. The pass of this young man had been stolen from him on the road, and although he gave the most minute detail of the circumstances, and his statement was corroborated by his companions, he was struck by the farmer, knocked down, and trampled upon. This was not all. Martinus, another of the party, on coming up to expostulate with the farmer, who was beating and stamping upon Marootz, received a stroke on the leg, which lamed him; and these young men were nearly three months at Pacaltsdorp, before they recovered from the wounds and bruises they had received. This case was laid before the chief magistrate, at my request, and, notwithstanding that an investigation was called for again and again, during the time the young men were recovering from these wounds, some pretext was always found for delaying it, till I was obliged to leave the colony.

A Hottentot I had in my own service a twelvemonth came to me the day on which his contract expired, and informed me that he had served his time, and that he wished me to give him a pass. On inquiry into the reason why he wished to leave me, he stated that he had a wife and three children in the district of Graaff-Reinet, whom he had not seen for nine years—that he had come to Cape Town with cattle—that on his arrival in Cape Town he got a pass, to protect him on his journey—that he had lost his pass on the road

—that he was compelled to enter into contract with the person who had seized him, because he had not a pass —that he had been equally unfortunate in two or three attempts he had made to return home; and that he hoped that I would give him a pass, which would protect him, and thereby furnish him with the means of seeing his wife and children. It was the first time he had made me acquainted with these circumstances, and I had no reason to doubt the correctness of his statement.

In the month of August, 1825, while at the missionary institution at Theopolis, a Hottentot, belonging to what was once the institution of Caledon, came to me, and related the following circumstances:—That he was hired by a gentleman of Cape Town, in 1821, at Swellendam, to accompany him on a journey to Albany;—that on his arrival at Graham's Town, he was sent to the mouth of the Cowie, to take care of some cattle for a time, on an estate belonging to that gentleman;—that his master having returned to Cape Town while he was in this employment, he obtained a pass from his agent; —that his pass obliged him to go to Graham's Town; —that the vendue master, on his arrival at Graham's Town, obliged him to enter into contract with him;—that on demanding a pass from this master, to protect him on his journey home, he was desired to come to him next day;—that on presenting himself next day, he was told that he would give him a pass to go to his father-in-law, and that he must either go and contract with him for a twelvemonth, or be sent to the prison; —that after being eight months in the service of this father-in-law of the vendue master, unable longer to endure the cruel treatment he received, he had ab-

sconded from his service;—that he had been living for some time in the bushes, feeding upon roots; and that hearing from a Hottentot that I was at Theopolis, he had come from his hiding-place, to implore my assistance to free him from his present situation, and to procure a pass for him, that he might be permitted to return to a wife and three children he had left behind him at Caledon institution.

In the afternoon, if I mistake not, of the same day in which the Hottentot gave me the above statement, the master to whom he was under contract, and who was within a few miles of Theopolis, and had heard of the circumstance, sent me a message, stating that the Hottentot in question was his servant, and calling upon me, at the same time, to send him, under an escort, to his farm. On receiving this communication, I stated to the Hottentot that I could not protect him; that all I could do for him was, to lay his case before the chief magistrate of the district, which I promised to do, provided he would return to Mr. B.'s service, till such time as the magistrate should have an opportunity of investigating and deciding upon his case. If he had received a sentence of death from the lips of a judge, he could not have felt more than he appeared to feel, when I stated to him the necessity he was under of returning to Mr. B.'s service; but he acknowledged the justice of my observations, and left me with a promise that he would follow my advice with a manner which fully indicated that, but for his wife and children, he would have preferred death to life. On his departure, I gave him a letter to Mr. B., in which, after having given him an account of the complaints of the Hottentot, I informed him that I

should consider it my duty, on my arrival at Graham's Town, where I should be in the course of a few days, to lay the matter before Major Dundas, the landdrost of the district, and to call for an investigation. Being then on my last journey into the interior of Africa, and being pressed for time, I could not wait in the district till the affair should be settled, and I have not since heard of the result; but, on my return to Cape Town, I waited on the gentleman who had hired him at Swellendam, and he corroborated to me every part of the statement of the Hottentot, so far as he, as an individual, was concerned.

It would certainly have given me great satisfaction to have heard that my efforts for this poor man had been successful, but my ignorance on this point does not affect the purpose for which it has been adduced. The fidelity and accuracy with which this Hottentot detailed what related to himself; the many cases of a similar nature which had come under my observation; the simplicity and consistency which pervaded the whole of his statement; the keeping which was observable in all the answers he gave to the cross-questions put to him; the situation of a man, placed as he was in relation to his family, were to me satisfactory vouchers for the truth of his heart-rending tale; and affords a sufficient illustration of the great sufferings to which the Hottentot nation is exposed, by the law of Passes.

In the course of my remarks on this subject, I have ventured to intimate that this law, as it now stands, is not intended for the protection of the colonists against the aggressions of the Hottentots, and the following fact will suffice to show for what purpose it is actually employed.

On my visit to Theopolis in 1823, wishing to introduce the English language at that station, for the mutual benefit of the emigrants in Albany and the Hottentots themselves, I selected three or four Hottentot boys from the school, together with a young man who had been acting as an assistant in the school, and placed them under Mr. Mathews of Salem, to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language to fit them for assisting me in the introduction of the plan I proposed. Mr. Mathews was an emigrant from this country; he bore a very excellent character, and had at that time the most respectable school in the district under his care. Being himself a religious man, and favourable to the improvement of the Hottentots, he entered warmly into my views, and offered his services on the most moderate terms. A temporary house was to be erected adjoining the house of Mr. Mathews, by the Hottentots at Theopolis, for the accommodation of the little party; and when they were not in the school with Mr. Mathews, they were to be under the care of the assistant teacher, who was married to a respectable young woman, who was to take upon herself the domestic cares of the family. This plan was recommended by its cheapness, and other considerations which I need not specify. After a trial, Mr. Mathews reported very favourably of the dispositions, the talents, and the progress of his pupils; and the master and the scholars were mutually pleased with each other, and living in peace, when they were visited by two local functionaries who demanded their passes, and, finding they had none, they seized them as vagabonds. Mr. Mathews stated to them the circumstances under which they were placed: but neither the respectability of his character,

nor the remonstrances he employed, nor the tears and distress of the wife of the assistant and of the boys had any effect; the determination was formed on principles not to be shaken by such circumstances. They were driven by the said local functionaries to Graham's Town, a distance of fifteen miles, as drovers in this country, on horseback, are in the habit of driving their cattle to Smithfield market; and they were there committed to the common jail among the felons. Nor were they released till Mr. Mathews and one of the missionaries from Theopolis (which is upwards of thirty miles distant) appeared in person, to advocate their cause; and at length, with great difficulty, prevailed in obtaining their discharge. Captain Hope was, at this time, acting landdrost at Graham's Town, and on being asked by a clergyman of the church of England how he could permit such treatment to the children at school, his reply was, "THE PRISON IS THE ONLY SCHOOL FOR HOTTENTOTS!"

CHAPTER IX.

Remarks on the Colonial Proclamation of 1812*.

HUME, in his Political Discourses, has an essay on three remarkable customs in three of the most celebrated governments that have existed in the world. If any future historian shall ever take the trouble to draw up a list of atrocious customs which have obtained the formalities and sanctions of law under a civilized government, the Cape proclamation of 1812 will certainly have, in such a record, a distinguished place assigned to it.

According to the laws of the ancient Druids, masters of families were kings, and had the power of life and death over their wives, children, and slaves. The Spartan laws regarded children as the property of the state, but the education given them was intended to prepare them for discharging the important duties of citizens, and the system had the sanction of the parents. The children of slaves are the property of their masters, and are, like the parents, at their disposal; but the case before us is of a character perfectly anomalous. The parents are acknowledged to be free, while they are liable to have their children torn from them, and disposed of without their concurrence.

By this proclamation a colonist can claim any child of a Hottentot who has been born upon his premises,

* For the Proclamation, see APPENDIX.

and who has arrived at the age of eight years, as an "apprentice" (to use the technical language of the colony) for ten years longer. It is difficult to say which is most to be deprecated, the injustice, the inhumanity or the pernicious consequences of this regulation.

What would be said of an attempt to introduce such a regulation in relation to the lower classes of society in this free country? Yet I know of no principle which could be urged in England against such a measure which may not be urged against its application to the families of Hottentots. The Hottentots do not fall below the inhabitants of Great Britain in the strength of their affections for their children; and, if you leave them to find a market for their own labour, they can provide for them with much more ease than the working classes in Europe can provide for their offspring. Deprived of his cattle, of the land of his fathers, of personal liberty, and of the protection of law, and left entirely at the mercy of those whose interest it is to oppress and cheat him in every way, to fill up the measure of his sufferings, he is liable to be robbed of his only earthly consolation, his children!

The pretext employed in the proclamation to justify this unnatural practice is, that it is necessary as an indemnification to the colonists for the support allowed to the children in their infancy. In reply to this argument, it may be remarked, in the words of Colonel Collins, "that the children are seldom weaned till they are two years of age, and that it is a well-known fact that they are turned to some useful purpose in the houses of the farmers as soon as they can crawl about; and it is a fact equally well known, that when they reside in the huts of their parents, they are chiefly and almost en-

tirely supported by them*." I have one case before me, in which a farmer, having lost his stock, was, with his family, for several years dependent upon the milk cows and the labour of a Hottentot family. While the farmer and his family continued in this state of dependence, the family of the Hottentot was, of course, treated with kindness; but with an alteration in his circumstances the temper of the farmer underwent a change, and, when the Hottentot proposed changing his place of residence, the *grateful* boor prevented him from executing his intention by going to the next magistrate and getting the children of the Hottentot apprenticed to him.

The Hottentot looks in vain for a method to escape from the operation of this cruel law. If, by changing his service, he eludes the claims of the farmer, he falls into the hands of the local authorities of the district. His unfortunate situation reminds us of the threatening—"If they escape from the weapons of iron, the bow of steel strikes them through." The pretext that the law is designed to prevent the children of the Hottentots from being exposed to the danger of starvation, may have imposed upon the distinguished individual under whose authority it was issued; but every one acquainted with the state of the colony must be satisfied that this pretext is entirely fallacious. The Hottentots at the missionary institutions not only provide for their own children, but it frequently happens that, in addition to their own families, they provide for the destitute children of others. Indeed, this charitable disposition is carried so far, that the missionaries are never

* Colonel Collins's Report to Government.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASW...

troubled in providing for the orphans of the Hottentots at their institutions, the distant relatives and neighbours of such children being always ready to adopt them, and provide for them. Do away with the iniquitous restrictions under which this people are placed, and allow them to have the means of obtaining a fair price for their labour, and their affection for their offspring will do all that is required for their preservation.

Another plea which has been urged in defence of this system, namely, that Hottentots are deficient in kindly affections to their children, is as false in fact, as it is opposite to sound principles of philosophy. The passions and instincts necessary for the preservation of the human species are little dependent upon the reasonings and refinements of men, and are often more strongly evinced in the lowest than in the highest grades of society. Can we suppose, for a moment, that the Author of our nature, who has imparted to the most timid brutes an attachment to their young, which makes them boldly risk their lives in their defence, should leave any portion of our race, in their more helpless condition, without a provision for them affording an equal security? It is, on the contrary, natural to suppose that the oppressions of the parents should rather increase than lessen their attachment to their children; and, in point of fact, the Hottentots in general are remarkable for an excess of affection for their offspring. The separations of parents and children, indeed, have furnished the most heart-rending scenes that I have witnessed in South Africa; and, in a letter now before me, from a respectable individual in the colony, on this very subject, the writer, after expressing the most unqualified censure of this proclamation,

as the occasion of more degradation and misery than, perhaps, any other instrument of oppression in existence, adds—" Heart-rending, indeed, are the woeful lamentations I often hear from Hottentot mothers about the loss of their children."

The colour of justice given to this measure, under the pretence that it is intended as an indemnification to the farmer, vanishes before the simple fact, that the local magistrate may, at his pleasure, set aside the claims of the farmer, and dispose of the children to others, a case which often occurs, without allowing the legal claimant any remuneration. According to the proclamation, not only is the child to be apprenticed to the person who has maintained it, and with whom, therefore, the parents have lived eight years and upwards, and to whom they, perhaps, might feel less repugnance; but, as if it were determined to place the whole Hottentot population at the mercy of the officers of government, and, at all events, to oppress the people, it is provided, in the last clause of this article, that " the landdrost is authorized to bind such Hottentot unto such other humane person within his district, &c." No notice whatever is taken by the colonial law, let it be observed, of the Hottentot parents: the landdrost is vested with this formidable control, and that, too, without the least regard to the feelings or the rights of a parent over his offspring, or of the feelings of the child in this forcible abstraction from its parents.

From a provision in this proclamation, binding the farmer to have the births of the children born on his premises registered, it may be supposed that there can be no imposition respecting the ages of the children. Whatever the cause may arise from, I am sorry to

say that the supposition is at variance with facts; and I have frequently had my attention called to cases in which young people, who had arrived at the ages of fourteen and sixteen years, have been rated, at that period of life, as being eight years of age only, and then apprenticed for ten years. In one case of this nature, after being assured by the local authorities of the district that an apprenticed boy was not more than eight years of age, I proved, by the evidence of the farmer at whose place he was born, that he was fifteen years of age at the very time he was apprenticed by them as a child not exceeding eight years of age. This fact, however, would not have been so easily established, if it had not been that the magistrate had used his dispensing power in this case, in taking the boy from the farmer with whom the father lived, and in giving him to another, who had no other claim upon him, than that with which the magistrate invested him. There was no charge of inhumanity brought against the master from whom he was taken, and, what aggravated this case, the boy was taken from his former master against his own inclination and the wishes of his father; and yet this separation was made by one of the most humane and kind-hearted magistrates in the colony.

In countries, where one class of beings consider another as of an inferior race, such incongruities pass unnoticed, and they are never regarded as inconsistencies among those that have had the misfortune to have been brought up in the midst of such prejudices. It has been justly remarked by an eminent writer, that, although by the institution of different societies, unequal privileges are bestowed on their members, and although

justice itself requires a proper regard to such privileges, yet he who has forgotten that men were originally equal, easily degenerates into the slave, or, in the capacity of a master, is not to be trusted with the rights of his fellow creatures.

I have now before me the case of two girls, residing at the institution of Bethelsdorp, who were claimed by two farmers, on the authority of this proclamation. The farmers stated these girls to be the one eleven, the other twelve years of age; and on this ground their services were claimed for six and seven years. The eldest girl, alleged to be only twelve years of age by the farmer, appearing to the missionary not to be under twenty-four, and the youngest not much less, he considered it his duty to make the landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, acquainted with this gross imposition. The landdrost, after receiving the statement of the missionary, still persisted, nevertheless, in supporting the unjust claims of the colonists, and reiterated his demand that the young women should be given up to him. An appeal was then made to the colonial government in favour of the girls, by the missionary, containing circumstantial details. No attempt was made by the colonial government to controvert this statement; but the only communication which he received in answer to his appeal, was a confirmation of an official note received from Colonel Cuyler, stating that no Hottentots were to be received into the institution of Bethelsdorp, without a permission, in writing, signed by that functionary. And thus the exemplary conduct of the missionary, which had well entitled him to the approbation of the colonial government, was the occasion of depriving the institution and the oppressed Hotten-

tots of the district of one of their most invaluable privileges.

The clause in the proclamation now before us, which has a reference to the humanity of the persons to whom the young Hottentots are to be apprenticed, was no doubt benevolently intended by the respectable nobleman under whose authority it was issued; but it is in reality worse than useless, since it conceals, under a colour of sympathy for the injured party, an act fraught with the greatest injustice and inhumanity.

A certain landdrost in the colony has taken to himself the credit of this proclamation; and he often reminds the boors, with much self-complacency, that they have him to thank for the advantages which they derive from it. Had this individual kept his own secret, from its very character it might have been supposed to have proceeded from such a quarter, from the immense patronage it throws into the hands of the local authorities. It is to this source that we are to look for an explanation of the care that is required to be exercised as to the humanity of the masters to whom the young Hottentots were to be apprenticed. Some plausible pretext was necessary, if it had been for nothing more than to blind the eyes of the governor, before any hope could be entertained that he might be induced to lend his name and authority for such an object; and this is not the only instance in which the most honourable names have been prostituted to cover an assumption of power at variance with the dearest rights of justice and humanity.

Among other evils resulting from this proclamation, it must be obvious, on the slightest reflection, that the act which disposes of the children in this manner must,

generally speaking, perpetuate the slavery of the parents and of the whole family, reaching in many cases from one generation to another. In a journey which I made into the interior of the colony in 1825, I lodged two nights at the house of a respectable farmer, who had a number of Hottentots in his service, that had belonged to the missionary station of Zuurbrack before it was broken up in consequence of the measures pursued by the colonial government. Pointing to one family, consisting of ten brothers, the greater part of them born on the missionary institution, he remarked to me with great simplicity, "That family, sir, is my wealth: they are better to me than slaves, for they cost me nothing; and I shall have them apprenticed to me till they are twenty-five, perhaps till they are twenty-nine years of age, and perhaps I may be able to keep them for ever."

Among the many evils arising from the proclamation, one of the greatest still remains to be considered. As early impressions are the most abiding, and as the future character is formed in early life, the habits acquired during these ten years' bondage, must stick to the individual during life; and a very serious question arises out of these circumstances, namely, what are the habits the young Hottentots are likely to acquire during this servitude? The principle on which the parents are treated worse than the common slaves, places the children of the Hottentots in a worse condition than that of the slave children. Under the influence of those selfish feelings, which it is the tendency of the system to generate and strengthen, the masters do not feel that interest in them which they do in a marketable property; and the consequence is, that the young Hot-

tentots about the farm-houses, generally speaking, exhibit much stronger marks of degradation and wretchedness than the young slaves of their own age. This remark is applicable to both sexes; but the condition of the young Hottentot females is especially to be deplored. Exposed as they are, often without the protection of their parents, and mixed with a slave population, from fourteen to eighteen, twenty or twenty-five, years of age, their moral degradation is almost inevitable; and what has a young woman left, when her virtue and respectability are gone? Were this the only evil feature of the proclamation, it would be bad enough to render it a disgrace to any country; and for all the mischievous effects to which it gives rise, it does not present a single particle of compensation to the injured parties. That they might have been in situations equally bad, is certainly no apology for having placed them by law in the very worst possible condition. The former supposition is, however, far from being applicable to the young females at the missionary institutions. Many of them, no doubt, at those stations, as is equally the case with many women in the most favourable circumstances in civilized countries, may turn out ill; but I am borne out by facts which have come under my own observation, when I state, that a large proportion of the young women at our institutions are extremely well brought up; and that their manners and their whole appearance form a striking contrast to the female apprentices in the houses of the colonists.

It was once remarked to me by one of the most intelligent magistrates in the Cape colony, that "the proclamation of 1812 has sealed the degradation of the Hottentots. It is," he added, "one of the most infamous

public acts that ever disgraced any country; the evils to which it gives rise are incalculable; and for the honour of the country, as well as from a principle of humanity towards this oppressed people, who are writhing under its cruel and debasing operation, I cordially wish to see it repealed."

The following abstract of a case which has been communicated to me, with all its melancholy and moving details, by the intelligent and respectable individual who acted such a creditable and humane part to the distressed family whose fate it involved, will serve to furnish an illustration of the use and abuse of this proclamation. In this case a farmer purchases an aged slave, on the understood arrangement between the buyer and the seller, that the purchaser was to have in servitude the wife of the slave, a Hottentot woman, and her five children, notwithstanding that they were well able to support themselves, and that two of the children were already in the employment of a third party. The claim is at first disallowed by the landdrost, apparently more from caprice than from any sense of its injustice, and two of the children (boys) are permitted to enter into the service of other persons. The purchaser of the slave, however, afterwards emerges from a state of poverty and insignificance: he becomes a wealthy man, and is appointed a heemraad. With the alteration of his circumstances the magistrate's view of his claim is likewise altered. He is now permitted to take by force into servitude two of the daughters away from the mother. He renews his pretensions to enthral the whole family, and in this he is now countenanced and supported by the landdrost, who actually produces the books kept for the purpose of registering apprentices, to show that

all the five children had been apprenticed to this boor some years ago, though he formerly resisted his unjust claim, and notwithstanding that some of the children were then below the age fixed for their being apprenticed by the government proclamation. The new heemraad next endeavours to get possession of one of the sons, who was hired, under contract, to a gentleman in the neighbourhood. In this attempt, he is more than seconded by the landdrost, who, instead of employing his influence and official authority in repressing such a shameful proceeding, converts them into an engine of oppression, and tries, by every artifice of cunning and intimidation, to induce this gentleman to surrender the boy to the farmer. Fortunately, he had an independent and resolute person to deal with, who resisted and baffled all his attempts to carry his point; and, in the end, the boy was permitted to remain and serve out his time with this gentleman. Defeated in his attempts to enslave the whole family, the rancour of the merciless boor was directed against the father, who was his purchased slave. He had driven away the wife, when he found he could make nothing more of her and her children, from her usual place of abode, alleging that her remaining in the neighbourhood induced his slave (her husband) to visit her, which he would not allow; and, on one occasion in particular, (besides being in the habit of maltreating both the slave and his wife,) when she went to see her husband, who was sick, he beat her with such brutal violence, as to leave the marks on her body for a long time afterwards; and this for no other reason than because he found her visiting her husband, whom he had doomed to perish, and to whom this inhuman master said, " *that he was*

paid for, and might die, as his life was of no consequence to him." The slave was at last incapacitated by age and sickness from further exertion, but, even in this extremity, the master would allow neither the wife nor children to visit or administer to the wants of this unfortunate old man. He remained, therefore, helpless and forlorn in his solitary hut, labouring under the weight of age, lameness by palsy, and a violent attack of gravel. Deprived of assistance, in excruciating pain, he was sinking fast, when his master presented himself, repeating his former doom, that he should perish, and adding, with insulting pride, that "he was paid for." He then asked why his wife and children did not redeem him. When the poor slave requested to know what this meant, he was told that his wife and children had plenty of cattle, and might very well spare a team of oxen, with which they might purchase his freedom. The slave sent the message to his wife, who immediately hastened to collect ten oxen, and presented them as a ransom for her dying husband. But the master was not satisfied with them, and wanted to have the pick of all their cattle. The slave was now sinking fast, and a few days afterwards his rapacious and inhuman master sent a message to inform his wife, that he would next day remove the old slave to a distant farm of his, and that if she wanted to redeem him, she must conclude the bargain that day. In haste the wife and her relatives collected their oxen, borrowed some others, and, having purchased the liberty of the poor old man, they brought him to the house of the respectable individual who related to me this case. A medical gentleman, distinguished for his professional skill and humanity, was sent for, but

his endeavours were in vain: by a cruel and wilful neglect on the part of his late owner, his disease had become incurable. All that could be done was to alleviate his misery by a surgical operation. Mortification had commenced, and a few days afterwards he expired in the arms of his wife and children, listening to a hymn which he had requested them to sing.

The following remarks, furnished by the gentleman who favoured me with the affecting details of this case, will be read with interest:—"What injustice," observes he, "has been done to the character of the Hottentot people, by representing them as scarcely possessed of a human mind! Here we see a woman sacrificing the prime of her life to nurse and comfort her husband, whose hard fate it was not only to be a slave, but the slave of an inhuman master. We see the same woman exposing herself to hardships and brutal treatment, in order to console him under the miseries beneath which he was sinking. When death, the last and best friend of slaves, was rapidly approaching, and no hopes could be entertained of a continuance of life to the sufferer, this faithful and affectionate Hottentot woman, and her children, into whom she had instilled her own sentiments, hastened cheerfully to sacrifice their hard-earned property to purchase the few hours of remaining life, in which they might minister, without molestation, to the comfort of the dying husband and father! And will any rational person then venture to affirm, with these details before him, that the two daughters, seized by this farmer, and constrained to serve him, under the sanction of the magistrate's authority, will be brought up better than they would have been with such a mother?"

It is, indeed, deeply to be lamented that the English government should have thus sealed the degradation of the Hottentots, and signed its own disgrace, by giving a legal sanction to the very worst grievance of the Dutch system; and which has been justly stigmatized by Barrow, in the following passage in his Travels:—"By a resolution of the old government, as unjust as it was inhuman, a peasant was allowed to claim as his property, till the age of five-and-twenty, all the children of the Hottentots in his service, to whom he had given, in their infancy, a morsel of meat."*

Before concluding this chapter, I shall add a few strictures on the *Opgaaf* tax, which was first levied on the Hottentots at the missionary institutions in 1814, in consequence of a proclamation issued that year, as it adds considerably to the grievances endured by this unfortunate race.

The proclamation of Sir John Craddock, regulating and fixing the rate of the colonial taxes, was published on the 1st of April 1814, and the first intimation to the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, informing them that the Hottentots in the missionary institutions were to be taxed on the same principles, and according to the same rate, as the colonial inhabitants, was communicated to them in a letter from Colonel Cuyler, the landdrost of Uitenhage, to Mr. Read, dated Sept. 1814.

The manner in which the Hottentots were collected at Bethelsdorp, under Dr. Vanderkemp, has been already related. The population of the settlement, at its commencement, was composed of Hottentots who

* Barrow's Travels, vol. i., p. 95.

had been previously in a savage state, and who lived chiefly by plunder. The lands of Bethelsdorp were granted to Dr. Vanderkemp for the purpose of beginning an institution to attempt to reclaim and civilize the wandering hordes of this people at that time in the district of Uitenhage. Bethelsdorp is a dry place, and can seldom be cultivated with advantage: it was not selected by Dr. Vanderkemp, as has been erroneously stated by certain writers and travellers: it was assigned to him, as we have shown, as a temporary residence, until a better place should be fixed upon; but the promises of the colonial government on this point were never fulfilled, and his attempts to procure a more suitable place proved fruitless.

This mission has been continued at Bethelsdorp by the will of the colonial government, and not by any fault of the missionaries. In fact it is evident, from the letter of Sir John Craddock to Mr. Campbell *, and from the whole of the conduct of government in regard to Bethelsdorp and the other institutions, that it was the design of the colonial government that the Hottentots should not be placed in situations where they could provide effectually for themselves, or become any thing better than servants to the colonists. This will more distinctly appear from the following extracts of a correspondence between Mr. Read and Colonel Cuyler on this subject, and upon which I shall take the liberty of making some comments.

Mr. Read, finding that it was determined that the Hottentots at the Bethelsdorp institution should be taxed according to the rule fixed for the colonial popu-

* See Appendix.

lation, after apologizing for what he was about to say, goes on to state his objections, in the following terms:—"In the first place, we are sorry that the year has so far elapsed before this information has been communicated. The scarcity of the times is well known in this part of the country. The failure of our last harvest, and the loss of five hundred head of cattle towards the end of the last year and the commencement of this, owing to the want of grass, render the people quite unprepared for such an opgaaf. The scattered state of the people is likewise a very unfavourable circumstance, insomuch that we fear, before the present opgaaf could terminate, the one for 1815 would commence; so that, in about six or seven months, nearly seven thousand rix-dollars will have to be paid by the Hottentots of this institution—a thing, we believe, impossible." Having stated the above objections, he proceeds, in his own name and in the name of his fellow-missionaries, to make the following reasonable request:—"Another circumstance we hope government will take into consideration, namely, that Bethelsdorp has always been a receptacle for worn out and helpless people from different parts of the country. These people have been, in part, supported by collections made on Sundays by our people, until some months ago, when their number and circumstances became so distressing, that we were obliged to have recourse to friends at the Cape, to whose liberality we are greatly indebted. The number supported, either by private or public charity, is upwards of thirty-six, besides orphans."—"We hope government will exempt such individuals from the required opgaaf. In the account of cattle which we had the honour to trans-

mit to you, we made a return including even the cattle belonging to the missionary society, as likewise the cattle belonging to the missionaries allowed by the society for their support. We humbly hope government will exempt the missionaries from the expenses of the above opgaaf, otherwise they will have to apply to the society for additional support." To this statement and request, government made the following reply :— "His Excellency sees nothing in Mr. Read's remonstrances which should prevent the missionary establishment of Bethelsdorp from paying the same proportion of taxes which is charged to the other inhabitants of your district."

Now, without adverting to that part of Mr. Read's plea respecting the sick, the aged, the infirm, and the orphans, and with the other circumstances only of this case before me, I am not a little surprised, that government should have come to this conclusion, and that such an answer should have been sent to the remonstrances of the missionary. Allowing that land, moveable property, and wages, are legitimate subjects of taxation, on what principle can it be affirmed that people without any land, excepting the common ground allowed for a missionary institution, and without any moveable property bearing any comparison to the property of the colonists in the district, should be assessed according to the rate at which the boors are taxed ; and that a people not possessing one-eightieth part of the land of the district, even accounting the land of the institution as their own property, should be compelled to pay one-twelfth, or one-fourteenth, of the taxes collected in that district ?

The injustice of this tax will be still more evident,

when the amount of wages received by the Hottentots is compared with the sum they have to pay, in direct taxes, to government. In the official report of Colonel Collins to government, in 1809, he states, "that in the distant parts of the colony a male Hottentot receives no more in the year than twelve or fourteen rix-dollars, which may be paid in money, clothes, or cattle. A female obtains much less." In 1815, no addition had been made to the wages of the Hottentots; and it will be seen, before this statement is closed, that their wages amongst the farmers, even in the heart of the colony, and not two hundred miles from Cape Town, are still continued with very little improvement in the rate. By the roll of the opgaaf, now lying before me, for 1815, I find that the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, who paid the opgaaf that year, amounted to four hundred and twenty-six souls, and that the whole sum collected by the opgaaf amounted to three thousand four hundred and fifteen rix-dollars, five skillings, and four stivers; making the proportion paid by each individual eight rix-dollars and a fraction. Is there any proportion between twelve or fourteen rix-dollars yearly, which is the common wages of a Hottentot, and the burthen borne by that individual, when he has to pay two-thirds of that sum to government in direct taxes?

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Joubert, missionary at the institution of Zoar, belonging to the South African Missionary Society, in the district of Swellendam, will set this matter in a clearer light than any reasoning that can be employed on this subject. It is dated the 27th June, 1822. "We are here at present in a very distressing situation, the half of the

inhabitants being unable to pay their taxes to government. They are all appointed to appear at the drostdy the 2d of next month, in order to pay their taxes, with a fine; a single person must pay seven rix-dollars, four skillings; and a married couple ten rix-dollars; or, in case of inability to pay, must go to prison. If our crops should fail a second time, a famine will be the dreadful consequence. Wheat is not to be procured here for less than thirty rix-dollars per muid;* rye is twenty rix-dollars, and barley ten rix-dollars; and the pay of a Hottentot, in this quarter, is from twelve skillings to two rix-dollars per month."

The following statement may be introduced here, to anticipate any remarks which may be made respecting the resources of the Hottentots, to lessen the oppressive character of this tax; it is taken from a letter of Dr. Vanderkemp's to the colonial government, dated 3d April, 1807:—"The number of Hottentots belonging to this institution (Bethelsdorp), since 1802, is twelve hundred and sixty-seven, including women and children. From these deduct three hundred who are now at Bethelsdorp, fifty who may be in the military service, a few who died or lately emigrated to Cafferland, and the remainder, amounting to at least eight hundred, will be found among the boors."

I have no statement of the same nature up to 1814; but as no new means of subsistence were furnished to the people in the intervening period, we are warranted in concluding that Bethelsdorp furnished as great a proportion of its inhabitants to the boors in 1814 as it did in 1807. Deducting the fifty accounted for by

* A muid is a measure containing three Winchester bushels.

death and emigration, twelve hundred and seventeen remain, fifty of whom are in the army. As these fifty soldiers were healthy, and probably young men, the compulsory abstraction of such a number must have had a distressing influence on the institution, keeping in mind that those drafted for the Cape regiment generally leave their wives and children, and all their aged and infirm relatives, at the missionary institutions.*

To the facts now brought forward, and the remarks made upon them, I may add, that this tax is confined in its operations to the Hottentots at the missionary institutions; and that it is a direct tax upon the institutions, from which Hottentots who are living among the farmers, and who are not members of a missionary institution, are exempted. Were this tax levied upon those Hottentots only who have procured waggons, or who had the means of making money besides what is to be made in the service of the farmers, it would be liable to less objection; but what can be said in palliation of an impost which is made to bear with such an intolerable pressure upon the Hottentots belonging to our institutions, while others are exempted from its operations?—Why single out

* We cannot suppose that there could be many effective men in the three hundred Dr. Vanderkemp mentions as having been left at Bethelsdorp. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, and admitting that the statement of Dr. Vanderkemp in 1807 may be taken as a standard for 1814, it is a matter of surprise, how a people, receiving from twelve to twenty rix-dollars per annum, could afford to pay, within a few months, the opgaa for two years, amounting to sixteen rix-dollars, one stiver, and four-sixths. It is not surprising that Mr. Read should have declared, on the proposal of the opgaaf, that it was impossible; but the wonder is, how government could think it possible.

the poor creatures who have their names on the roll of a missionary, as the only victims for such oppression?

Mr. Joubert having mentioned that the Hottentots of his institution were summoned to the drostdy on the 1st July, 1822, to pay their opgaaf, adds that, in default of payment, they must go to prison. Looking over that letter, and remarking that half the people in the institution were unable to pay their opgaaf, a question will naturally arise—What is government to do with these people—how is payment to be enforced—and what good can be done by sending so many people to prison? This mystery will be explained by a very few words. When the people are called to the drostdy, and cannot pay their taxes, there are always a number of the colonists present, who are ready to pay their taxes for them, on condition of their being bound to them for a year's service. The Hottentots, having no alternative but to go to prison, or enter into the service of the boors, generally prefer the latter.

It is unnecessary to attempt to prove that it is not the intention of the local authorities on such occasions to fill the prisons of the country; and whether or not it was the original intention of the colonial government to oppose the institutions, and force the Hottentots into the service of the farmers by this tax, there cannot be a question but that its direct tendency is to do both. It is impossible to look at the retrospective view of this tax; at the mode of its collection; at its commencement calling for two years' taxes within a few months; at the disproportion there is between the property and wages of a Hottentot, and the amount of the taxes required from him; at the partial manner

in which the tax is levied, by confining it to the missionary settlements, and the consequences resulting from it, as exhibited in Mr. Joubert's letter, and in the remarks in the concluding part of these observations; and not to ask, as it concerns the Hottentots, which is the greater,—the impolicy or the injustice of this obnoxious tax?

CHAPTER X.

Effects of Dr. Vanderkemp's Death on the Missions.—Mr. Campbell's first Visit.—Second Deputation.—Condition of Bethelsdorp.—Schools.—Shops.—Mechanics.—General Remarks.—Address to the People.—State of Religion.—Improvements.

WITHOUT reflecting on the missionaries who survived Dr. Vanderkemp, we cannot suppose that his removal could happen without seriously affecting the prosperity of the mission. It is obvious from his correspondence, that Dr. Vanderkemp always considered the colonial government as favourably disposed towards the Hottentots, and that he viewed them as misled by the misrepresentations of the colonists and the local authorities of the districts. He never seems to have considered the opposition he had to encounter as a part of the colonial system. His mistake, in this instance, may be easily accounted for. The fear inspired by his abilities obliged the officers of government to conceal, as much as possible, their real views; and, in their answers to his representations, they either affected to disapprove of what could not be defended, or they attempted to make him believe that the indefensible case was an exception to a general rule; while the circumscribed sphere of his operations, which allowed him little opportunity of seeing the working of the system, except in his own case, and the remoteness of his situation from the seat of government, contributed their

different portions of influence to prevent him from discovering the universality of those feelings, which were viewed by him as merely local in their operation. This limitation of his views did not, however, render him less fit for the situation he then filled. A more perfect knowledge of the system might, perhaps, have proved unfavourable to the continuance of his exertions, and the final triumph of his principles; and it is probable that had he been acquainted with all the difficulties in his undertaking, it would have been abandoned in despair. While Dr. Vanderkemp lived, the missions and the aborigines found an able defender; after his death, the missions fell into a state of confusion, which furnished their enemies with the opportunity they had long wished for to successfully assail them.

In 1812, it was judged expedient by the London Missionary Society to send a deputation to South Africa, to examine into the state of the different stations, and to report upon them; and for this duty they selected the Rev. John Campbell, who has since given to the public the result of his observations during several journeys into the interior of the colony, as well as among the interesting tribes beyond the frontier. But of this period we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when we come to give the history of the several new stations founded by Mr. Campbell. In the mean time we shall proceed to offer some account of the improvements made by the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp, where the success of the missionaries, notwithstanding the numerous difficulties and oppressions they have had to contend with, has set the question regarding the possibility of civilizing the aborigines of South Africa at rest for ever.

The visit of Mr. Campbell, and his labours in South Africa, revived the hopes of the missionaries, and stimulated them to fresh exertions; but the causes which led to the disappointment of these hopes, and which have been already partly developed, will be more fully explained in the sequel of this work.

In the year 1818, the directors of the London Missionary Society felt the absolute necessity of again sending a deputation of their society to South Africa, to investigate into the real situation of their missions, and into the nature of the allegations urged against them by the colonial government, as the grounds of the opposition made to them. Mr. Campbell and myself were nominated and appointed as a deputation from the society for this purpose. He was to make a visit, and return to England; and I agreed to remain five years in the country, that I might be able to gain a more thorough knowledge of the actual state of the missions, set them in order, and, if possible, secure the cordial co-operation of the colonial government in their favour. My appointment, and that of Mr. Campbell, for these specific objects, was communicated by a deputation from the society to Lord Bathurst, when his lordship signified his approbation of the measure, and expressed his hope that our mission would be attended with the beneficial results anticipated.

It must be obvious to every impartial person, that our commission was of a mixed nature; that we had more than the simple and well-defined duties of a missionary to the heathen to perform; that we were called upon to investigate the grounds of the complaints urged against our missionaries by the colonial government, and to endeavour to correct what was amiss.

During our first journey into the interior, we were introduced to the local authorities of the districts, and were constantly surrounded with persons, who either could not give correct information, or whose object it was to mislead us. We received the friendly propositions of the government, and their promises to support the missions, in good faith; and in the hope that these promises would be realized, we were willing that all past grievances should be buried in oblivion. Without inquiring minutely into all the causes of the uneasiness which had taken place, between the government and the missionaries, we were chiefly anxious that the people of the missionary stations should be improved; and we were at this time led to suppose that the feelings of the colonial government, on this subject, were in accordance with our own.

On the visit of the deputation to Bethelsdorp, we found that institution in a deplorable condition. The system of oppression, of which Dr. Vanderkemp so bitterly complained, and under which he sunk into his grave with a broken heart, had been carried on for years without a single check. The institution was virtually converted into a slave lodge, and the people were called out to labour at Uitenhage, to work on the public roads, to cultivate the lands of the local authorities, or to serve their friends, or the colonial government, receiving for these labours never more than a trifling remuneration, and very frequently none at all. In addition to the daily oppressions exercised upon the people, we found that seventy of the men had been employed for six months in the Caffer war. For this service they received nothing but rations for themselves; nothing in the shape of wages was allowed to

their families; and the women, to keep themselves and children from starving, were under the necessity of contracting debts among the farmers, to be liquidated by the personal service of the husbands on their returning from Cafferland. To these circumstances I must refer for the cause of the deplorable condition in which the deputation found the spiritual and temporal affairs of this mission. In such a state of wretchedness, we could neither look for cleanliness nor industry: robbed of the fruits of their industry, the people had no motive to labour, and the place of worship was deserted.

On the arrival of the deputation at the institution, no Hottentot came to bid us welcome: the men were driven to a state of desperation; the countenances of the women were marked with the deepest dejection. The people generally declared that servitude among the farmers was preferable to their condition at Bethelsdorp, and I was assured that another year of the hopeless wretchedness in which they were plunged would have furnished their enemies with the triumph they now anticipated. To save the institution, immediate measures were necessary: a suitable missionary and a new system were required; but the ranks of our missionaries had been thinned by the colonial government,* and we had no one to whom we could confide the important affairs of this institution, with any hope of improvement.

In connexion with the preaching of the gospel, the first thing necessary to elevate the people, and to produce a change for the better, was to provide a person

* See Appendix.

possessing suitable qualifications to preside over the institution. The qualifications requisite in such an individual were good sense, elevated piety, firmness of mind, and a mild, conciliating temper. In Mr. Kitchingman, Providence at length presented to us a person in whom these qualities were united; but the spiritual and temporal labours of the institution were too much for one person, and, finding it necessary to divide them, we found in Mr. Read an able coadjutor to our worthy brother.

We had by this time been long enough in Africa to remark the great importance of early education, to give an efficient and permanent character to our missionary labours: a suitable teacher was, therefore, to be provided, and an efficient system of education was to be introduced. By much labour and attention, this desideratum has been at last supplied, and the beneficial effects of the operation of our schools have already exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The influence of the system of education adopted at our missionary stations diffuses itself over the whole mass of the population: the parents see and acknowledge the improvement of the children; and the progress made by the young is pushing forward their seniors, from those but one step in years above them, to the grandfathers and grey-headed matrons. When I was at Theopolis, in 1821, education was neglected, the children would not attend the school, and the parents justified the children in their idle habits. On my late visit to that station, on a proposal being made to the parents that the children should be employed two hours in the day, when they were not in the school, in manual labour, under the eye of the schoolmaster, the people

replied, with one consent,—"We assume no control over our children, when under the care of the teacher; we know that what you propose will prove a benefit to them, and our authority shall be employed to support the influence of the schoolmaster."

Savages may be baptized according to the forms of any particular church, and may assume the Christian name, but they will never be any credit to religion, unless they are civilized by their instructions. We may say of idleness, what Solomon says of pride,—it was not made for man. Civilization bears to religion a relation similar to what the foliage bears to the tree. Trees are not planted in our gardens for the sake of their leaves; but without leaves, in their season, the garden would be without beauty, and the fruit neither well flavoured nor abundant.

Dr. Vanderkemp remarks, that the neighbourhood of Bethelsdorp was covered with the aloe of commerce, but that he despaired of seeing the day when the Hottentots would be induced, by any temporal advantage, to take the trouble to drain and collect the inspissated juice. I had often remarked the indifference with which the Hottentots regarded money. We had no retail shops at our institutions, and the Hottentots had from five to fifteen or sixteen miles to travel, before they could dispose of any trifle they might possess. Reflecting on this subject, it occurred to me that the sight of a shop at each of the institutions might operate as a stimulus to industry. The plan of opening a shop, in connexion with the society, appeared to me accompanied with insuperable difficulties. A business of this nature would have required the whole attention of a man of commercial habits, and we had no indi-

vidual to spare for such an occupation, to whom it could be entrusted. To have done business on such a scale as the institution called for, would have required a stock of at least four thousand pounds; and I had no authority nor inclination to advance such a sum at the risk of the society. And the last and greatest objection of all, arose from the abuse and evil reports likely to spring out of a shop being carried on in any of the institutions by the missionaries. Anything which has a tendency to impart to missionaries too much of a secular character, to give them a separate interest from that of the people, to produce collision or dissatisfaction, or to throw into their hands a profitable monopoly, which might prove a temptation to induce them to prevent the people from becoming their rivals in business, or even lead them to frown upon them should they go to another market to make their purchases, is carefully to be avoided, when the improvement of those under our charge is the sole object of our labours. It was under the influence of these considerations that I acceded to the proposals of the Messrs. Kemp, who are now settled as merchants at Bethelsdorp. The experiment succeeded. The sight of the goods in their windows and in their shop produced the effect anticipated: the desire of possessing the articles for use and comfort by which they were constantly tempted, acquired additional strength on every fresh renewal of stimulus. Money instantly rose in estimation among them; and the women and the children, finding that they could obtain what they desired by collecting the juice of the aloe, were, in a short time, seen early and late, engaged in this occupation, or in carrying the produce of their labour to the merchant's shop, to exchange it

for clothing and such other articles as might suit their taste or necessities. While the habits of the people have been eminently improved by the addition of shops to our institutions, this part of the arrangement has been attended with no additional expense or risk to the society; and, instead of being in danger of losing the missionary in the merchant, our merchants are in the habit of co-operating with the missionaries, in giving their gratuitous labours in the various schools on the institution.

During the life of Mr. Pacalt, the excellent missionary who commenced the institution at Pacaltsdorp, his anxiety for the improvement of the people induced him to bind several Hottentot lads apprentices to some colonists in the town of George, who engaged to teach them their trades. The same thing had been done at Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, and with the same results. The masters had kept them for their term of years, but they returned to the institutions without a sufficient knowledge of their trades to enable them to work by themselves, or even to be employed by a master as journeymen. Those apprenticed to a blacksmith had never been allowed to take any thing into their hands in the workshop but the large hammer; and the tailors and shoemakers had never been allowed to lay their hands upon a pair of scissors or a cutting-knife. Two boys who were apprenticed to a saddler had been employed during the whole of their apprenticeship in doing nothing but delivering messages, and in taking care of their master's horses and cattle, &c. Those who have seen the aversion with which the improvement of our people at the missionary stations

has been regarded by the colonists, will not be at a loss to account for the motives of the masters in their conduct in those instances. In order to carry on our designs in reference to the people, it was necessary to have mechanics at the institutions; and, if the difficulties I had to encounter in their accomplishment were inferior to those which opposed the establishment of shops in connexion with the society, they were sufficiently great to occasion many fears and perplexities. The practice of sending out missionary mechanics from England is attended with great expense, and seldom answers the purpose intended. Whatever their professions may be when they appear as candidates for admission into the service of the society, many of them go abroad with the secret hope of rising to have the name and office of missionaries; and if they are disappointed in their expectation, they are generally the last people in the world to whom you would think of apprenticing a people emerging from barbarism, to acquire industrious habits. Talking from the pulpit is generally everything with a great proportion of that class of men; and everything connected with the industry of the people, and their civilization, are considered carnal things, altogether foreign, and even alien to the propagation of the gospel. We have had some mechanics in South Africa, who have furnished exceptions to this rule, and who have seen the importance of the system we have adopted, and have assisted in carrying it into effect; bnt we have seen very few, comparatively speaking, who would have been content to confine themselves to the stool or anvil, as tradesmen in Europe are often obliged to do; and men of this stamp are absolutely necessary; in

training up the natives to become efficient workmen, and rise to be masters in their turn.

These difficulties could only be obviated by finding mechanics in South Africa, who would labour at the station on their own account, unconnected with the Society, and who would agree to teach Hottentot apprentices, and be satisfied with their labours as a remuneration for the expense of their board, and for the trouble of teaching them. On this principle I employed a blacksmith, masons, and carpenters, to teach the people their respective trades; and there are not, perhaps, better workmen in the colony than several of the Hottentot blacksmiths and masons, who have been taught at our missionary stations. On making agreement with the mechanics to be employed at the stations, I always looked for the fear of God as an essential qualification; and I engaged and retained none who did not observe the sabbath in a religious manner, and whose moral conduct would not bear the strictest examination. I had one great advantage with all these men over mechanics sent from Europe. In my agreements with them, when they were to be employed in working for the society, I never failed to inform them that I expected the same work from them, and the same number of hours in the day which they would feel themselves bound to render for the same wages in any other service; and that if they failed in that particular, I should instantly dismiss them. By the blessing of God upon those means, a change has been effected on our missions in South Africa in the course of a few years, which it might have required half a century to achieve, had we been obliged to proceed on the old system. And all those improvements have been

brought about under the most discouraging circumstances, with the number of efficient missionaries we formerly had in Africa greatly reduced, and with scarcely any additional expense to the society.

One of the first steps in attempting the elevation of a savage people, in connexion with religious and moral instruction, is, to endeavour to impart to them a relish for the decencies and comforts of life. Little can be done towards their general improvement, till you can get them to exchange their straw cabins for decent houses. Their miserable reed-huts are unfavourable to health and morals. Great numbers of the Hottentots die of consumptions, partly from this cause. Continually enveloped in smoke, sleeping on their earthen floors, and covered with filth, they are almost always sickly, and are frequently cut off in early life, having the appearance of old age before they arrive at their fortieth year *.

These huts are as unfavourable to industry, as they are to health. If one visit them in the evening, he will find from five to ten human beings sitting round a fire on the floor, in a place where they want elbow room, and where they must find it difficult to stretch themselves when they sleep. In such circumstances, not being able to employ themselves at anything, they acquire indolent habits which it is very difficult to eradicate. This is one reason, perhaps, why the women, in such a state of things, are more indolent than the men. The work of the men being chiefly out of doors, when they retire to their huts, it is for rest; but the women,

* You may observe smoky huts in Scotland and Ireland; but fire and smoke in such miserable hovels in our climate are not by any means as pernicious to health as in South Africa.

from the nature of their employment, not requiring rest at the same time, require to be employed at needle-work, or other domestic occupations. At our institutions, many of the young girls have been taught to sew; but I have seldom seen any of them with needlework in their hands when I have visited their straw-huts in the evenings, or, indeed, doing anything, but sitting with their hands over each other, or lying sleeping round a few dying embers. In those miserable sheds it is impossible they can follow any industrious employment; and if the women were inclined to sew, and to overcome the difficulty arising from the want of a steady light, the injury their materials would receive lying about in their dirty huts, and the loss of needles and thimbles, would discourage them *.

While they live in these huts, habits of cleanliness can never be acquired. They may put on new clothes, and the young girls may, out of vanity, or the desire of admiration, appear clean on particular occasions; but they will still remain slovenly in their habits, till they have habitations in which they can preserve their clothes and persons uniformly clean.

The destruction of clothing occasioned by the condition of these huts, has a tendency to prevent the formation of domestic habits, and to generate the opposite vices. The Hottentots at our institutions have acquired a taste for good clothing, particularly the young women at Bethelsdorp. This has given rise to exertions never witnessed among them before, and, like most young women in more civilized countries, the greater part of their earnings is spent in dress. Their appearance

* Mr. Bartlet has informed me that he has known a Namaqua woman take a journey of two days to borrow a needle.

on the Sabbath is not only respectable, but showy. Such of them, however, as live in those huts, no sooner get a good article than it is soiled. When it has lost its fine appearance, they lose their relish for it, and it is put on for every-day wear; and having no chests, nor places to preserve their clothes in, they lie about on the earth, or are packed into a filthy skin bag in a corner of their miserable dwellings, and are worn out in one-fourth or fifth of the time they would have lasted under better treatment. The wives of the missionaries at this station have remarked, in my hearing, that some of the young Hottentot females lay out more money for dress in one month, than they themselves do in three. It is no uncommon thing to see them collecting the juice of the aloe, a business which brings them in, at this institution, considerable sums of money, dressed in printed cotton gowns, and expensive shawls,—a degree of extravagance which never could have become general, but from this circumstance, that these clothes are as speedily destroyed in the way in which they are thrown about in their huts, as when they are kept in constant use.

These habitations are also unfavourable to decency. When men and women are huddled together in a place not more than six or eight feet square, delicacy is impossible. Modesty has been defined as the outwork of virtue; and we can do very little for a people in the scale of morals, if we do not succeed in imparting this virtue to the females.

Books and literature connected with civilization can never become general, while the people live in such dwellings. When a Hottentot is taught to read, and obtains a house where he can lay up his books upon

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

shelves, where they will be preserved from damp, from filth, from vermin, or the children and the dogs, he is likely to have his taste improved; but if he has no means for preserving them from such enemies, he will seldom addict himself to reading. He may attend schools, he may acquire an ability to read, but the talent will soon be neglected if books are wanting, or, what is the same thing, if he has not the means of preserving them. How many are retarded from making progress in knowledge, even in civilized countries, by inconsiderable objections!—and how are we to expect success among savages, where the desire is of course weak, if much greater obstacles are not removed? Many literary men would be ashamed to mention the trifles by which they have been discouraged in their pursuits, or the loss they have sustained by the operation of mere trifles upon their minds.

In an enumeration of the means employed for the improvement of the people at our institutions, I must here advert to one of the first springs attempted to be set in motion for that purpose. It may be advanced as one of the most indisputable maxims in political economy, that despair destroys industry; and the despair which had seized the hearts of the people had to be removed before they could be induced to make exertions to extricate themselves and their children from what they considered a state of hopeless wretchedness. With this view I had several public meetings with them, when I employed every topic, which the gospel authorizes, to revive their hopes, and to excite them to increased exertion. Among other topics employed on this occasion, to effect the object proposed, I stated to them the interest which the London Missionary Society

felt in them—the pleasure which it would afford the Directors of that Society to use their influence with the British government to ameliorate their condition; and I particularly pointed out to them the advantage which an improvement in their houses, and in their industry and mode of living, would afford to their friends, in pleading their cause. I stated to them, that it was vain to attempt to plead their cause, while their enemies could point to Bethelsdorp in its present state; that the world, and the church of Christ, looked for civilization and industry as proofs of their capacity for improvement, and of the utility of our labours; that the men of the world had no other criterion by which they could judge of the beneficial effects of missions; that results were to them what the external evidences of Christianity are to an unbeliever; that they knew nothing of the internal work of God upon the soul, of which they themselves had had no experience; but that the things I recommended to them were level to their capacities, and might have the same influence on their minds, which the external evidences of divine truth had on the minds of unbelievers, in leading them to a knowledge of the internal evidence of the truth. I added, that they were not to consider what I now recommended as carnal things, and, for that reason, of no importance; that the words of unerring truth said—"By their fruits ye shall know them;" that money was a carnal thing, and yet Paul speaks of the gift he had received from the church at Philippi, as "of a savour of a sweet smell, acceptable to God;" that our food and drink were carnal things, and that we could not live without them; that to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to give drink to the thirsty, are carnal

things, and yet our Lord, in the xxvth chapter of Matthew, has taught us that the reality of religion in the heart will be decided by these things in the day of judgment. I admitted that much might be said in their defence, and that, if I had nothing more in view than to defend them against the calumnies cast upon them, I might find abundance of materials for my purpose, in the oppressions they laboured under; but that I had resolved to take higher ground; that it was my wish to obtain an exemption for them from the evils under which they were groaning; and I declared to them publicly, and as in the presence of God, that if they would furnish me with the argument I wanted, an argument absolutely necessary to silence their enemies, and essential to the success of any attempts which might be made in their favour, I should first do every thing for them, in my power, with the colonial government; and, if my efforts in that quarter should fail, I assured them that I should use my utmost endeavour to influence the Directors of the London Missionary Society, whose favourable regards for them they had experienced, to use their influence with the government at home to redress their grievances. And I solemnly pledged myself, (believing, as I did, that their oppressions were illegal, as well as unjust in principle,) that, if these resources failed, I should never cease, while the exercise of my reason was continued to me, and while I could use my pen, to employ every lawful means to procure for them their just rights as subjects of the British government.

I was happy to find that the people had intelligence to comprehend the arguments I employed—to feel the force of the appeals made to them, and to enter into

my views. With much feeling, and in a humble dependence on God, they unanimously declared that they would do their utmost to fill up the plans I might give them; and they have since amply redeemed the pledge then given. The plan of a new village was laid before them, and their subsequent exertions have excited the surprize of every one acquainted with the disadvantages of their situation.

The meaning attached by many of our countrymen to the word "civilization" is often extremely vague, signifying little more than a conformity to their own ideas in dress and manner of living; but, while we had reason to believe that the pretext of deficiency in this point would be urged to justify the destruction of our missions, and to continue the oppressions of the people, I could have no hope of seeing the condition of the people ameliorated, till I could meet the objectors upon their own level, and do away with the grounds on which they had planted all their batteries. This great object has, through the blessing of God, been attained—the physical, the moral, the intellectual capabilities of the people have been tried, and it will be seen by the following facts and documents, that the Hottentots at our missionary stations can be no longer charged as being deficient in intelligence, enterprise, or industry. The following extract is from an official communication addressed to the Reverend George Burder, the secretary of the London Missionary Society, dated Bethelsdorp, July 5, 1825, describing the state of the institution when I visited it at that period, and when I had it in my power to compare it with the condition in which it was seen by the deputation in 1819.

"Mr. Kitchingman continues to fulfil the expectations I had formed of him on his appointment to this station. We have reaped all that could be hoped for from his prudence, ability, and piety; and I am happy to say that Mr. Read and he co-operate together with cordiality and zeal. Mr. and Mrs. Helm came here some months ago for their health, and are still in the institution. The attendance on sabbath at divine service is good, and the people feel the necessity of a larger place of worship. The children in the schools are making very satisfactory progress in the English language, and if there is any truth in a remark of Dr. Chalmers, that one of the most sublime spectacles in nature is the wild boy of the woods conning over his letters, it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more gratifying than a sight of the adult school at Bethelsdorp. In this school you may see all the talents and all the energies of the institution brought into exercise. Every sabbath morning and afternoon, the great body of the people, and particularly such as are employed among the farmers during the week, are arranged in different classes, according to the proficiency they may have made; and you may see both sexes, from fifteen years of age to seventy or eighty, engaged at their lessons, with all the keenness of the most eager competition. The Messrs. Kemp, the merchants of the settlement, take an active part in the school, and are very useful in the institution; and I believe they have reason to be very well satisfied with the returns they receive from their business. You would see by the comparative view I sent you in 1823, that in 1822 they had sold to the people British manufactures to the amount of 20,000 rix-dollars, and from the increase of their ex-

port in aloes, the amount of British goods they have sold every year since that period must be considerably above that sum.

"I am happy to say that the spirit of general improvement which has done so much for Bethelsdorp still continues to operate with unabated force. The hope the people entertain that their present exertions will lead to the amelioration of their condition has given rise to the striking advances they have lately made in civilization; and, if that spirit of industry is not injured by the continuance or accumulation of a pressure too great for its strength to bear, we may look forward with confidence to those results which will recompense all our labours, and justify our most sanguine expectations. The bridge, which was begun since my last visit, is nearly finished, and has proved to be what I may call a great undertaking for the strength of the people. Some buildings have been erected within these twelve months, and the appearance of the place is considerably improved; though, I am sorry to say, the stone buildings of the people are not so many in number as I could have wished to have seen. This ought not, perhaps, to be a matter of surprise. The people work at their houses as individuals, and under the most favourable circumstances a good stone house is a heavy concern to a labouring man. Even in the agricultural and manufacturing districts of our own highly-favoured country, there are but few of the labourers and mechanics who arrive at the eminence of living in their own houses; and when, by their industry and their economy, they acquire houses and gardens of their own, they gain a kind of intermediate rank between the labourer and his employer, and are looked up to as persons of some influ-

ence in their respective neighbourhoods. In the manufacturing districts of North Britain, the labourers and artisans look forward to the possession of a house and garden as to the summit of their ambition, and it generally requires many years of hard labour and saving before their hopes are realized. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, every reflecting mind will admit that the exertions of the people, compared with their means, have been great. And as they have now acquired a taste for good houses, particularly the *females*, the improvement of the people in this as well as in many other respects, will, I have no doubt, keep pace with our expectations.

"To our friends in England who are unacquainted with the state of Africa, it may be proper in this place to assign some reasons for the importance I attach to this species of improvement. The first consideration which stimulated me to improve the appearance of our institutions was to meet the objection, 'You do not civilize the people; they are fit for nothing but slaves to the boors; you can never make them tradesmen, and you can never raise them above their present vitiated state, nor impart to them a taste for the decencies of life.' Futile as these objections may appear in England, I was satisfied that, while they could be urged against us, we could do nothing to ameliorate the general condition of the Hottentots; and I had but one method of refuting them, and that was the method of the Grecian philosopher, who, when it was asserted in his presence that there was no such thing as motion, instead of entering into a metaphysical discussion in reply, he merely rose up and walked. While I have had the happiness of seeing the ignorance of foolish and interested men put to silence

by this practical argument, I have had the pleasure of seeing our stations increasing in good buildings, and in the number of native mechanics.

"The circumstances in which I have been placed for two or three years past, have obliged me, in my communications to you, to give a prominence to the externals of religion, which might induce persons unacquainted with my situation to suppose I was in danger of losing sight of its principles; but if such a suspicion has arisen in the minds of any of my friends, I am happy to say that it is without any just foundation. Vital religion has never been lost sight of in my labours in South Africa; and though, like the sap which nourishes the tree and gives it all its foliage and fruit, it is not visible to the eye, it is nevertheless the source of all the fruitfulness and beauty which adorn our missionary stations. While I am satisfied, from abundance of incontrovertible facts, that permanent societies of Christians can never be maintained among an uncivilized people without imparting to them the arts and habits of civilized life, I am satisfied, upon grounds no less evident, that if missionaries lose their religion and sink into mere mechanics, the work of civilization and moral improvement will speedily retrograde. I might adduce in this place many melancholy illustrations of this sentiment, but this cannot be done without making reflections, and instituting comparisons which might be deemed invidious, and would therefore be unwise. The church at Bethelsdorp is not, perhaps, more numerous than it was in 1821, but I believe it contains more real Christians than on any former occasion; and the caution now exercised in the reception of members, if it has kept some back who might have been within the pale of its commu-

nion, has also raised the standard of morals, and increased the lustre of genuine piety.

"Among a people who have heard the gospel for many years, and whose children have grown up under its stated ministrations, we are not to look for the striking conversions, and the external commotion, often visible when the gospel is first preached among them; but if the current of their emotions excites less external observation, it is to be hoped, in the present instance, that it is not because the stream is diminished, but because it has deepened its channel.

"A stranger entering the place of worship at Bethelsdorp does not now observe, what he might have witnessed six or seven years ago, the agitation and cries of the people, so great as for a time to interrupt the preacher; but he may observe what is not less interesting, a congregation hanging on the lips of the speaker, the intelligent eye, the silent tear, the devotional attitude, the calm of meditative reflection, or the alternations of hope and fear, joy and sorrow, exhibited in the countenance as the speaker awakens the painful recollections of his hearers, pours into the wounded heart the balm of consolation, or agitates or composes them by the grandeur of the world to come, the joys of heaven, or the miseries which await the finally impenitent. Common observers, who have never reflected upon the progress of civil society, have displayed much petulance and ignorance in their remarks on some of these appearances at some of our missionary stations on which we are now commenting. When they are making their caustic and sneering remarks upon the exclamations and groans of an uncivilized congregation, they forget that there is scarcely any medium in such circumstances between not

feeling at all, and giving full vent to the expression of their feelings. Human beings emerging from a savage state are like children much agitated; they can neither suppress nor control their passions under any extraordinary excitement.

"In the illustration of this sentiment, I might appeal to facts of daily occurrence under the preaching of the gospel in Wales, in many parts of the north of Scotland, and in some places in England. It is in civilized life, where novelty has lost its charm, and where men are the creatures of artificial habits, that they acquire the mastery over their feelings, or that indifference which they often exhibit to the most interesting and affecting subjects. You may still see at Bethelsdorp, in the place of worship, occasionally, individuals who have not yet acquired a perfect command over themselves, but they are persons recently admitted into the institution; the thing itself is also of very rare occurrence, and it is never felt as infectious, nor does it ever rise to excess, so as to interrupt the minister or disturb the congregation.

"Among such people, and in such an institution as Bethelsdorp, the missionaries must have much to do to extirpate vice, and promote virtuous habits; and considering the strong temptations to which they are exposed, and the corrupting influence of a neighbourhood where you may, generally speaking, see all the vices of civilization, without (except in a very few individual cases) any of its virtues, the morality of the people is to me matter of surprise. Honesty, and a regard to truth, are traits in the Hottentot character which have been generally remarked. A propensity to spirituous liquors is one of their most powerful pas-

sions, and one that is not easily eradicated under any circumstances, after it has gained an entire ascendency; yet such is the order of the institution at Bethelsdorp, that the missionaries have not, for years past, seen any individual under their care, on the institution, in a state of intoxication. In the day, all is activity; you see no lazy Hottentots sleeping in the sun in their carosses; and after sunset, you hear no brawls in the streets, nor in their dwellings.

"On visiting Bethelsdorp in 1825, I had the pleasure of observing the spirit of improvement, which had done so much for the institution in 1823, advancing with a steady and accelerated pace. Many of the Hottentots have now substantial, clean, and commodious houses, indicating a degree of comfort possessed by few of the frontier boors, and far surpassing the great body of the English settlers. The sheep-skin caross, with its filthy accompaniments, has disappeared, and the great body of the people and of the children are clothed in British manufactures. The people belonging to Bethelsdorp are in the possession of fifty waggons; and this place, which was lately represented as the opprobrium of missions, is at the present moment a thriving and rapidly-improving village. Instead of the indifference to each other's sufferings, and the exclusive selfishness generated by the oppressions they groaned under, and the vices which follow such a state of things, their conduct to each other is now marked with humanity and Christian affection, of which a beautiful line of almshouses, (the only thing of the kind in the colony,) and their contributions to support their poor, furnish striking examples. In addition to their other exertions, a spa-

cious school-room, valued at five-thousand rix-dollars, in which the youth are taught to read, both in the English and Dutch languages, and many of them also instructed in writing and arithmetic, has been erected at the expense, and by the hands, of the Hottentots. A church of larger dimensions has recently been commenced. Bethelsdorp, moreover, possesses the best blacksmith's shop on the frontier, or, indeed, in the colony. Other trades, especially those of the mason, thatcher, sawyer, &c., are successfully followed by many inhabitants of Bethelsdorp. The inhabitants have, besides, within the last two or three years, raised seven thousand rix-dollars, by gratuitous contributions from their hard-earned savings, to pay for a valuable farm, purchased in aid of the very inadequate resources of Bethelsdorp.

"In 1822, the Hottentots became contractors with government to carry military stores from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town. In this contract they employed thirty waggons, and created a net saving to the government in the first six months of 11,175 rix-dollars, 5 skillings, and 4 stivers. The people of this institution, who were formerly burdensome to the colonial government when Dr. Vanderkemp commenced his labours among them, and in the condition of naked savages, are at this time in the habit of paying, in direct taxes, between two and three thousand rix-dollars, and are consumers of British goods to the amount of twenty thousand rix-dollars per annum.

"It is impossible to give any correct idea of the state of religion at our missionary stations, without a reference to the domestic condition of the people. It has been justly remarked by Dr. Robertson, that the pri-

vate and domestic situation of mankind is the chief circumstance which forms their character, and becomes the great source of their happiness or misery. Any poison in this fountain communicates itself to the manners of men; any bitterness there affects all the pleasures of life. Domestic society is founded in the union between husband and wife. Among all civilized nations this union has been esteemed sacred and honourable; and from it are derived those exquisite joys or sorrows, which can embitter all the pleasures, or alleviate all the pains, in human life. At the introduction of our missions among the Hottentots, their sexual connexions were of the most casual and temporary nature. Without any standard of morals, they were abandoned to the grossest licentiousness. The marriage covenant has been introduced by the gospel; it is now regarded by the Hottentots at our missionary institutions as an indissoluble alliance; and young females who have lost their characters have now no chance of being asked in marriage, or even noticed, by respectable young men of their own nation."

CHAPTER XI.

Testimonies in Favour of Bethelsdorp.

In the preceding statement of the change which has been effected upon the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp, no attempt has been made to overcharge the picture; nothing has been advanced but what will bear the most rigid scrutiny, and what must be admitted by all, whether friends or enemies, who have taken pains to inform themselves as to the state of this institution. A few testimonies, extracted from letters of respectable individuals who had visited our missionary stations, and most of them wholly unconnected with the society, may, however, be here subjoined, as unexceptionable evidence in the present case.

The following extract is from a joint letter from W. T. Blair, Esq., of the East India Company's civil service, and Captain Miller, of the Company's military service, dated December, 1824:—

"Many of the Hottentots of the missionary institutions which we have visited appear to us fully on an equality, in point of civilization, with a great portion of the labouring class in our own country; and among those of Bethelsdorp particularly, English habits and English feelings seemed to be rapidly gaining ground. Many of their houses were exceedingly comfortable and clean; and, in this respect, it is rather remarkable how far they have overcome the proverbial filthiness of

their former habits. Their public spirit and disinterestedness have been shown in the gratuitous contribution of their labour to works of charity and general utility; such as the church, school-house, road, kraal, tank, and poor-house at Bethelsdorp, constructed entirely at their own expense; while the voluntary support of this last-mentioned asylum for the aged and infirm, affords also a strong proof of the benevolence of their dispositions, and the influence of civilizing principles of the best kind on their general conduct.

"We were glad to find that the industry of the people, at the different institutions, was fettered by no restrictions on the part of the missionaries, and that the profits of it were entirely their own. The missionaries assured us, that they strictly avoid interfering with the people in the disposal of themselves, and that they had perfect liberty to go, whenever and wherever they pleased. The outward circumstances of many of them, their houses, cattle, waggons, &c., afford unquestionable proof of their industry; while the quantity of European articles sold at the stations of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, also shows that the people in general are far from being insensible to the comforts of civilized life, or unwilling to labour to attain them."

The following is an extract of a letter from Thomas Pringle, Esq. (now secretary to the Society for the Mitigation and gradual Abolition of Slavery), written from the Caffer frontier, and dated March, 1825:—

"On my journey from Algoa Bay towards Bavian's River, I spent several days at Bethelsdorp; and I shall now offer a few remarks on the present situation of that institution, which, from an individual like me, entirely unconnected with your society or your congregation,

may, perhaps, not be unacceptable, at a time when both yourself and your society are assailed on all hands by enemies and calumniators.

"It is now just about five years since I first visited Bethelsdorp, on arriving at Algoa Bay, with my party of settlers, in 1820. At that time, the outward appearance of the place was far from prepossessing. The country around is naturally bleak and barren, and the want of water for irrigation had prevented the inhabitants from cultivating gardens or planting fruit-trees. The same circumstances, the want of personal and permanent interest in the soil, and, above all, the want of the feelings and habits which such circumstances promote, had prevented the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp from attaining that progress in the comforts and decorums of civilized life, which tend so much both to improve their own character, and to please and prepossess the passing traveller. These defects, which were indeed much more the misfortune than the fault of the Bethelsdorp Hottentots, have been, since that period, to a great degree remedied. Many of the Hottentot families have now substantial, clean, and commodious houses. Some have even reached a degree of comfort and convenience much beyond the average of the frontier boors. The kloof, adjoining the scanty brook, has been cultivated to the utmost extent of its capabilities. The whole of the people, and even the majority of the children, are decently dressed in English manufactures. The sheep-skin caross and its squalid accompaniments have disappeared. Many of the people have waggons and oxen, and earn much money by carrying goods to Graham's Town, &c. There are good masons, carpenters, smiths, and other

tradesmen among them, who execute the greater part of the work in the rising village of Port Elizabeth, as well as the various improvements in progress at Bethelsdorp. The entire aspect of the place and its inhabitants has strikingly improved since I first visited it: there is an air of activity and intelligence about the people, which I did not then perceive; and I have no doubt that they are rising, and that rapidly, in the scale of society.

"So much for externals. In regard to the progress of piety and morals it is more difficult for me to speak with precision, as the evidences on these points require a more close and cautious investigation than I can profess to have given; but I have little doubt, from all I could observe during my visit, and from my subsequent inquiries in the vicinity, that much has been done, and is now doing, in these most important matters. There is every appearance of seriousness and sincerity among the mass of the people in their religious assemblies. There is no drunkenness, and, so far as I can ascertain, few gross breaches of morality at Bethelsdorp; though it is true, that the Hottentots residing in the neighbouring villages of Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth are exceedingly corrupted. At Graham's Town, I hear, they are in a still more deplorable condition.

"But what pleased me more than any thing else on this visit, was the appearance of the schools, both for children and adults. The Sunday-school for adults is efficient and interesting, in a very high degree. The unaffected earnestness and ardour evinced by the whole adult population to learn to read their bibles, was far beyond any thing I could have anticipated; and is, I believe, quite unprecedented in any other institution

except Theopolis. The Hottentots at these Sunday-schools have forgot altogether their constitutional apathy, and appear to have at once acquired the earnestness and vivacity of the natives of southern Europe.

"In regard to the other improvements of the place, it is unnecessary for me to speak, as they must be all well known to you. The excellent alms-house, the tanks, the smiths' shops, the store, and missionaries' houses, are all great and obvious improvements since my former visit.

"I am glad to find my own sentiments respecting Bethelsdorp corroborated by so important an evidence as Sir Richard Plasket. He visited Bethelsdorp about ten days before me, in company with the landdrost, Colonel Cuyler, and expressed himself, as I was informed, highly pleased with the appearance and good order of the institution; adding that 'it was evident, that if any thing had been done for the Hottentot race, it had been done by the missionaries.' Even Colonel Cuyler bore a reluctant testimony to the improvements at Bethelsdorp, which he had not visited for two years preceding. I hear that Sir Richard expressed his opinion in favour of Bethelsdorp, also, very strongly to the governor at Graham's Town, and urged him to visit the institution. He has not, however, been successful; for Lord Charles Somerset has passed Bethelsdorp, both in going and returning, within a few miles, without honouring it with a visit, or showing it any token of his favour. On the contrary, it is remarkable that his visit to Uitenhage has been instantly followed up by fresh acts of oppression and persecution towards this institution. The missionaries are now ordered to collect and be responsible for the *opgaaf* of the Hotten-

tots;—a measure which, in the circumstances of Bethelsdorp, is equally odious and impracticable. In short, it is clear enough that Lord Charles and Colonel Cuyler are equally disposed to annoy and harass this place to the utmost of their power, if not to destroy it utterly. It was long an eye-sore, and is now a reproach to them both; but it has, I trust, a Protector, who will turn their counsels into foolishness."

In pursuance of a plan, which had for its object the education of the sons of the missionaries, and of young natives, to be employed as schoolmasters and teachers, &c., the Rev. William Foster, a gentleman of a cultivated mind, and otherwise well fitted for such an important station, was sent to South Africa by the directors of the London Missionary Society. Mr. Foster was appointed to conduct the proposed seminary, and with this view he arrived at the Cape early in 1825. In the following extracts of two letters from Bethelsdorp, addressed by that gentleman to the directors of the society, dated May 22 and June 19, 1826, the reader will find additional confirmation of the preceding statements, and a pleasing view of the continued prosperity of the institution:—

"The appearance of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis is a practical refutation of the calumnies circulated against them, particularly against the former; and these different institutions challenge the applause of the candid, and even of enemies. In the schools, the British system may be seen in a state of perfection equal to almost any thing that can be witnessed in England, and the numbers under instruction, and their proficiency, are truly admirable. The number of schools here at present is six, including two day-schools, and two Sunday-schools

for the children, a large adult school on the Sabbath, and an evening school in the week, besides the seminary which I have commenced with the natives, in which they are proceeding in the more important branches of knowledge. The various societies of a benevolent and religious nature call into exercise those principles which, from the pulpit and other quarters, are enforced upon them, and, as is invariably the case, elsewhere tend to strengthen and bring them to maturity. I am happy in observing, in the deportment of every individual, the utmost quietness and sobriety: there is nothing like a tumultuous or noisy assembling for the purposes of sinful mirth or mischief, so that those who are not the most active members of the community are not, in a contrary manner, injurious.

"The public spirit of the people is remarkable, compared with their limited means: the public buildings on the place, which have resulted from it, being worth many thousand dollars, while others are designed, and some in actual progress.

"Many oppressions, under which the people of this station have laboured, have happily been suspended. The restrictive measures, with respect to the Hottentot nation, however, which are still retained, have a very injurious tendency upon their industry and advancement. A short time ago the missionary stations were in ruins, the missionaries and their people desponding, and the latter scattered: as an inevitable consequence, instruction, both religious and useful, was almost at a stand, the progress that had been made was nearly lost, and the enemies of missions confidently predicted a complete triumph. The timely interposition of Dr.

Philip happily arrested the oppressive system, and, by checking aggression, has given the present scope for the activity and resources of the Hottentots. What is to be seen in their improved and comparatively substantial circumstances, may be dated from that period; and when the system of contracts, as at present practised, with that of passes, the impossibility of legally holding land, together with the denial of the other rights of free persons, are abolished, there can be no question as to the certainty of their attaining rank and importance in society. Their alleged incapacity for the enjoyment of social rights, in their discharge of any social duties, proves as idle as it is malicious—the convenient pretext for prefacing an act of oppression. These improvements I by no means hold out as the chief objects of missionary attention, though with those who are brought into immediate contact with the natives, and see how intimate is the relation between their temporal and religious improvement—how comfortable circumstances prevent innumerable temptations, they are apt to occupy more attention than, perhaps, is judged right by those who are less minutely acquainted with them.

"The present state of our Christian society here is more analogous to that of a dissenting church at home; and though there may have been few additions lately to the number of visible converts, there have been few or no instances of declension: the members have advanced greatly in the stedfastness and consistency of their profession, which, to those who reflect how precarious, in general, is the Christian conduct of those but lately reclaimed from heathenism, will be far from being accounted insignificant. Religion may be said

to have assumed more the character of a principle than formerly, and the circumstance of being affected, under the touching or solemn exhibitions of the gospel, is no longer considered by themselves as an unequivocal proof of their being under its influence. Greater care and discrimination are now exercised in regard to the candidates for communion. No complaint can be made as to the attendance at the public exercises of the sanctuary, and it is pleasing to notice the earnest attention observable in almost all the congregation. To the effects produced by the preaching of the gospel, we may add the numerous other influences of a directly religious nature, which are acting upon them, the effect of which cannot be uncertain, though gradual, and, hitherto, imperceptible."

In his second letter, dated June 19, 1826, Mr. Foster writes as follows :—" I have no hesitation whatever in affirming, that the capacity of the Hottentots for the acquisition of knowledge is equal to that of Europeans. I speak of what I have seen in our schools, and in those of maturer years under my care. The latter at first laboured under the difficulties of having discontinued for some years those habits of recollection, more especially exercised at schools. But they are rapidly acquiring a greater facility in this respect, and prove themselves capable of any degree of advancement.

" Were there no prejudice against their complexion in the community among whom they would have to labour, many would probably be able to discharge any duties the Society might lay upon them. But here the case is such as scarce any can conceive without witnessing it. As the institutions furnish a refuge to the Hottentots from the oppressions of the boors and other

colonists, all of whom consider they have a right to their service, they are looked upon with a very evil eye, and assiduously misrepresented to the government, as furnishing only means and motives to indolence. The slavery that has existed in this colony, and exercised its pernicious influence upon the inhabitants, leading them to regard all of a dark complexion as inferior beings, and a species of property, or deserving only to become such, has greatly aggravated this hostility.

"Under such circumstances, the only proof of the utility of the stations that is undeniable, is their improvement in industry and civilization—to impress the necessity of which is the burden of the missionary's daily work; and the peculiar circumstances of the case here, sometimes, perhaps, encroach too much on his attention to their spiritual concerns. This stimulus, however, has been happily not without effect: the mouths of the enemies of missions have been stopped, and those who are strangers and candid, unanimously acknowledge the great superiority of the natives with us to those who are elsewhere. But attention to this object must not for a moment be relaxed. Were the Hottentots found retrograding, there can be little doubt that the clamour raised against the stations through the whole colony would effect their suppression. From the views and prejudices, and temper of the colonists, it will be a considerable time before we can expect to see Hottentots qualified and possessed of sufficient weight of character to fit them to take the charge of our missionary institution; they must, for a time, require protectors as well as teachers. As schoolmasters, however, and assistants in preaching, they would prove unexceptionably

useful, particularly in the latter employment. There are now numerous places in the neighbourhood of the stations where the gospel might be published, and they will soon be greatly increased.

"I would suggest to the society the desirableness of obtaining missionaries among either the English or Dutch in this country. The extent of the population is such, that a sufficient number might now be obtained for all the funds the society could devote to this part of the world. Dr. Philip procured several persons in Cape Town, who are now usefully employed in the service of the society, besides others who have materially aided its operations. By such an arrangement, all the benefit of European missionaries would, humanly speaking, be secured, while the sacrifice of feeling and the risk of health would be greatly diminished.

"No commencement has yet been made with the children of the missionaries, owing to the want of a sufficient house, and other engagements, which have devolved upon me. As soon as a building is completed, (which will soon be the case,) where they can be assembled, those on the place will be received who can reside with their parents. I trust soon to be favoured with the decision of the directors, particularly with respect to the site of the seminary, that I may be able, more regularly and effectively, to commence my operations than I can do at present. The circumstances in which the Hottentots have hitherto been placed as a nation, render the advancement of them, in any respect, most interesting, particularly the qualifying them, by knowledge, for the publication of the gospel. Their progress has never been so rapid as within the last few years; and from the peculiar circumstances of

the colony, it must continue in an increased ratio. The piety of the colony is chiefly, though not exclusively, to be found amongst them; and as the rising generation is, for the greatest part, under the influence of a religious education, and the means of religious instruction are to all of them much more abundant than ever they were before, we may hope that the interests of pure and undefiled religion will yet more extensively prosper among them. The providence of God seems emphatically wiping away their reproach, and elevating them, both by spiritual and temporal means, in the scale of nations. It is pleasing to contemplate this revolution, and still more so to be in any way connected with it as an instrument."

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Campbell's First Visit to South Africa.—Pacaltsdorp.—The Missionary Pacalt—His Death and Character.—Mr. Campbell's Description of this Institution.—Other Testimonies in regard to it.

The visit of my friend, the Rev. John Campbell, to South Africa, in 1812, by the appointment of the directors of the London Missionary Society, (which was occasioned by the death of Dr. Vanderkemp,) together with the favourable dispositions of Sir John Cradock, allowed the missions already planted a breathing time at that period, and was the means of increasing the number of our stations. As the details of Mr. Campbell's journey are before the public, it is unnecessary for me to repeat what he has already narrated. I shall, therefore, proceed to give a brief sketch of the progress of the new institutions founded under his directions, and of the difficulties they have had to contend with. The chief of these stations within the colony are Pacaltsdorp and Theopolis.

Pacaltsdorp is situated iu the district of George, on an extensive plain, which lies between the sea and the great mountain range which terminates towards the Knysna and Plettenberg's Bay. The village is between three and four miles distant from the town of George, and two miles from the sea; and commands a view of the extensive plain on which it is situated, of the sea, and of the town. The ground around it is

too flat for a lover of the picturesque; but the noble ridge of mountains which bounds the prospect in one direction, forms a line of very fine objects, and relieves the scene from anything like monotony.

At the time when Mr. Campbell first visited this place, it was called Hooge Kraal, and was occupied by the Hottentot Captain, Dikkop, and the remains of his people. These people had occasionally heard the missionaries on their journies, when passing through the district, and had expressed an earnest desire for one to come and instruct them. Mr. Campbell accordingly visited their kraal, and gives the following account of his visit:—

"In the forenoon, I accompanied a few of them on a visit to their kraal: when almost within a quarter of a mile of it, I could hardly distinguish the town, when pointed to by the Hottentots, on account of the lowness of the wretched huts which composed it. I found the hut of the chief rather larger than the rest, so that in the centre of it I could stand upright; it was constructed of branches of trees, covered with reeds. I observed no other furniture than two low roughly-made stools, and two or three wooden pails for containing water. One of the stools was placed for me in the middle of the hut, surrounded by the Hottentots, who were closely seated on the floor, all anxious to learn the result of the conference.

"I then inquired whether they were all desirous of having a missionary to settle amongst them?—which was answered unanimously in the affirmative; but, like their chief, they could not assign any reason, except to be taught the same things which were taught to the white people.

"A very aged, miserable-looking man, coming into the hut during the conference, with scarcely a rag to cover him, excited my attention; he came and took a seat by my side, kissed my hands and legs, and, by most significant gestures, expressed his extreme joy in the prospect of a missionary coming amongst them. His conduct having deeply interested me, I asked him whether he knew anything about Jesus Christ? His answer was truly affecting—he said, 'I know no more about anything than a beast.'

"Every eye and ear was directed towards me, to learn whether a missionary would be sent to the kraal; and when I told them that an excellent missionary, I had no doubt, would be soon with them, they expressed, by signs, a degree of joy and delight which I cannot possibly describe."

The Rev. Charles Pacalt, a missionary in the service of the London Missionary Society, was then employed preaching among the farmers, in the district of Swellendam, and being at the time without any positive engagements, he consented, at the invitation of Mr. Campbell, to settle among this people, as their instructor.

When Mr. Pacalt first came to reside among them, he found them without inclosures, without cultivated ground, without gardens, and without any dwellings, with the exception of a few small huts, made of reeds, in the form of bee-hives. All their clothing consisted of the filthy caross, which served them for a covering by day, and for a bed and bed-clothes by night. Sunk in indolence, they seldom waked but at the calls of appetite; and when the cravings of nature were satisfied, they went to sleep again.

Mr. Pacalt was a very remarkable man; he seems to have lived constantly as in the presence of God, and under realizing views of eternity. He sought the salvation of the people, and aiming at this, he elevated their minds and multiplied their comforts. He felt and acted towards them as a wise father acts towards his children; he was gentle, disinterested, always employed; possessed a happy talent in conversation, and a great command over his own temper. He had been employed upwards of a year itinerating over the district of Swellendam, and had commanded the respect and affection of many of the farmers who knew him. In his journies, he used to lodge at the farm-houses: on these occasions, he never lost sight of his ministerial character, and his zeal was marked with such a degree of prudence, that the family which received him as a stranger felt as if they had entertained an angel unawares.

His first business on arriving at Hooge Kraal was to erect a temporary habitation for himself. In doing this he was assisted by the Hottentots; but for whatever labour they gave him at his own house or garden, he obliged them to take payment. This generosity and disinterestedness endeared him to the people, established his authority among them, and enabled him to bend them to the accomplishment of his plans. After raising a small hut of only one apartment, which was merely designed to answer his purpose till he could build a more substantial house, he drew out a ground-plan of his intended village, which he laid out in two open streets parallel to each other; marked out the site of the houses, and got the people to build more decent habitations for themselves. He surrounded each

house with a large garden, which he persuaded the people to inclose; provided them with seed to plant it, and taught them how to cultivate it. He succeeded so far in overcoming their indolent habits, that previous to his death, and within five years after his settlement among them, in addition to their own houses, gardens, and corn-fields, they had built a church, capable of containing two hundred and fifty people, which was used as a school-house during the week; had inclosed the greater part of the village with a substantial turf wall, four feet thick at the bottom, and two at the top, and six feet high; had made inclosures for their cattle; and, as water was scarce in the summer, had formed, with great labour, two artificial tanks or reservoirs of considerable dimensions. He showed much prudence by the methods he adopted to overcome the aversion to labour common to people in a savage state. It was his practice always to work along with them, and gradually to increase the time devoted each day to manual labour; by this means he stimulated them to persevering exertion, and led them from those habits in which one hour's labour in the day was a burden, to work with cheerfulness six or eight. Being accustomed to labour for themselves, they did not feel the same objections as formerly, to work for the farmers; and finding that, by thus exerting themselves, they could obtain European articles of clothing, they gradually renounced the sheep-skin caross, and clothed themselves in British manufactures. While teaching them to build their houses and cultivate their grounds, he enlivened the hours of labour by instructing them, in the most easy and familiar manner, in the principles and duties of religion. Their exercise, by this means, was rendered a pleasure

to them; and the methods he employed on those occasions, to instruct them, gave him an intimate acquaintance with the state of their minds, and enabled him on the sabbath to adapt his discourses to their different situations. The style of his preaching was conversational, and he kept the attention of his audience constantly alive by addressing them by name from the pulpit, and abruptly asking them questions to ascertain whether they understood the subject of his discourse.

He paid particular attention to the rising generation. To assist him in the school, he had taken great pains to instruct a remarkably clever Hottentot boy, who, at the age of fourteen, was able to conduct the school with those qualifications which are necessary to command the respect and obedience of those placed under his care.

The death of such a man as Mr. Pacalt is a public calamity, and as such, it was felt by all who were acquainted with his worth; but to himself it was a release from labour, and the joyful consummation of his fervent prayers. He was conscious of his approaching end, and assured his friend Van Kerval, the landdrost of George, in the most placid manner, that his death was at hand; and that he was about to enter into his rest and receive his crown.

He bequeathed all his property, amounting to four thousand rix-dollars, to the Society with which he was connected, and left Van Kerval, the landdrost, and Mr. Herold, clergyman of the district, executors of his will. Many of the neighbouring colonists, and all the Hottentots, felt as if they had lost their father. His funeral was attended by the local authorities, the clergyman of the district, and many colonists.

Contrary to the usual practice of the Dutch Church, the Rev. Mr. Herold attempted to deliver an address at his funeral; but his feelings, together with the feelings of his audience, prevented his proceeding, and with one accord they lifted up their voices and wept: "My father, my father!" exclaimed the venerable Van Kerval, and he could utter no more. When the coffin was laid in the grave, the Hottentots quite unexpectedly began, as if by concert, to sing a Dutch hymn, taught them by Pacalt, in which he seems to have anticipated his own funeral, and to have suggested that they might sing it on that occasion. The hymn commences with an address to the grave, as the quiet resting-place of the believer; as the place where his dust is deposited to refine; as the place where Christ was laid, and from whence he arose; and where, like Christ, we shall rest, till, by the Power which raised him, we shall rise also to everlasting life. The memory of the just is blessed, and Mr. Pacalt will be remembered with affection for many years to come. The landdrost requested the colonial government to name the place Pacaltsdorp, after its founder, which request the government acceded to.

His place was supplied by Mr. Messer, whom the deputation of the London Missionary Society found labouring among the people in the year 1819.

At the period Mr. Pacalt began his mission, he had many circumstances in his favour to accelerate his success. The part of the country in which these people were existing, and living according to their ancient manners, was a new district, thinly peopled, and most of the farmers were then in the possession of slaves and Hottentots, and did not find it their interest to

force the Hottentots into their service; but in 1819, when the deputation visited the station, a considerable alteration had taken place. The abolition of the slave-trade began to be felt; the population and trade of the district had increased; the colonists began to feel a scarcity of servants; and as they found the people of Pacaltsdorp made good servants, they began to grudge them the liberty and independence they enjoyed. In 1821, a proposal was made to the author as agent of the London Missionary Society, that they should be dispersed among the farmers, and their houses, their gardens, and corn-lands, given to a few English settlers. The land belonging to this ancient kraal of Hottentots, not being so much as is generally possessed by one of the lowest class of African farmers, *that* could not be the motive which suggested this proposal; and on a full representation of its cruelty and injustice, it was abandoned, and the people were preserved from the slavery designed for them *.

My worthy friend and fellow-traveller, the Rev. John Campbell, who has laboured so zealously and efficiently in behalf of the aborigines of South Africa, has given, in a letter to the Rev. George Burder, a description of Pacaltsdorp, as it appeared on his second visit, in so graphic and lively a manner, that I cannot better complete my account of this institution than in the words of my amiable and excellent colleague:—

"In the month of April 1819, we left Cape Town, for the purpose of visiting the stations eastward of that place. As we advanced towards Hooge Kraal, the boors (or Dutch farmers) who had known me on my former journey in that part of Africa, would frequently

* See Appendix.

assure me that such a change had been produced on the place and people of Hooge Kraal since I had left it, that I should not know it again, and that all had been effected by the labours of a single missionary,—Mr. Pacalt, who had died only six months before.

"The nearer we approached the settlement, the reports concerning its rapid improvement increased, till at length we arrived on the spot, on the evening of June 2d.

"Next morning, when the sun arose, I viewed, from my waggon, the surrounding scene with great interest. Instead of bare, unproductive ground, I saw two long streets with square-built houses on each side, placed at equal distances from each other, so as to allow sufficient extent of ground to each house, for a good garden. A well-built wall, six feet high, was in front of each row of houses, with a gate to each house. On approaching one of them, I found a Hottentot, dressed like a European, standing at his door to receive me with a cheerful smile. 'This house is mine!' said he, 'and also that garden!' in which I observed there were peach and apricot trees, decked with their delightful blossoms, fig trees, cabbages, potatoes, pumpkins, water-melons, &c.

"I then went across the street to the house of a person, known by the name of Old Simeon—the very man who sat in such a wretched plight, at my side, in the hut, when I first visited the place, and who then said he knew no more about anything than a brute. I was informed that he had become a Christian, had been baptized, and named 'Simeon;' and, because of his great age, they called him 'Old Simeon.' I found him sitting alone in the house, deaf and blind with age. When they told him who I was, he instantly embraced

me with both hands, while two streams of tears ran down his sable cheeks. 'I have done (said he) with the world now! I have done with the world now! I am waiting till Jesus Christ says to me, Come! I am just waiting till Jesus Christ says to me, Come!'

"The case of this singular monument of the grace of God was very well described by a missionary who visited Hooge Kraal, on his way to Bethelsdorp, soon after his conversion; he relates it thus—

"'On Tuesday evening, April 8th, 1817, before we left Hooge Kraal, an old man, about 90 years of age, engaged in prayer. He expressed great gratitude to God for sending His gospel to his nation, and that in *his* days; and particularly for making it efficacious to his own conversion.

"In his youthful days he was the leader of every kind of iniquity. He was a great elephant and buffalo-hunter, and had some wonderful escapes from the jaws of death. Once, while hunting, he fell under an elephant, who endeavoured to crush him to death; but he escaped. At another time, he was tossed into the air by a buffalo several times, and was severely bruised; the animal then fell down upon him; but through a kind providence he escaped with life. A few years ago, he was for some time to appearance dead; and was carried to his grave soon after, (as is the custom in hot climates,) but while the people were in the act of throwing the earth over him, he revived, and soon entirely recovered.

"The second time our missionary, Mr. Pacalt, preached at Hooge Kraal, he went from the meeting rejoicing, and saying, that the Lord had raised him from the dead three times, that he might hear the word of

God, and believe in Jesus Christ, before he *died the fourth time.*

"He was baptized last new-year's day, and was named Simeon. Mr. Pacalt told us, it was impossible to describe the old man's happiness on that occasion. Heavenly joy had so filled his heart, and strengthened his weak frame, that he appeared as lively as a youth, although ninety years of age. He said—'Now I am willing to die! Yes, I would rather die than live, that I may go and live for ever and ever, with my precious Saviour. Before, I was afraid to die; O yes, the thoughts of it made my very heart to tremble; but I did not know God, and Jesus Christ then. Now, I have no desire to live any longer. I am too old to be able to do any thing here on earth, in glorifying God my Saviour, or doing good to my fellow Hottentots. I served the devil upwards of eighty years, and was ready to go to everlasting fire; but though a black Hottentot, through infinite mercy, I shall go to everlasting happiness—Wonderful love! Wonderful grace! Astonishing mercy!'

"No human being I ever saw, seemed to have been sunk into a lower state of degradation than Simeon was when I first saw him, both as to mind and body. The change effected by means of the glorious gospel of Christ was truly marvellous. He was indeed 'a new man,' in every sense; 'old things were done away, and all things were become new.' In *his* case, the importance and advantages of sending the gospel to savage tribes of men most distinctly appears, for it is, in truth, the power of God unto salvation to *every* one that believeth, whether he be Jew or heathen, barbarian or Scythian, bondman or freeman; it dispels his ignorance,

destroys his prejudices, subdues his corruptions; in short, it changes the lion into a lamb, and humanizes the most brutal character.

"The next thing which attracted my attention, was the wall which surrounded the whole settlement, for the protection of the gardens from the intrusion of their cattle and of the wild beasts. It was substantially built of excellent sods, cut into the shape of large bricks, which soon become hard by exposure to the sun. This wall was six feet high, four feet wide at the bottom, and two feet at the top. The extent of it was eleven thousand, one hundred, and one feet, when we had it measured; but several thousand feet were added to it before I finally left the settlement. They had formed three extensive inclosures, of the same kind of wall, for keeping their oxen, cows, horses, and sheep in the night time. They had also formed two large tanks, or ponds, for preserving a stock of water for the cattle in the dry season.

"A place of worship had also been erected, capable of seating two hundred persons. On the Lord's day, I was delighted to see the females coming into it, clothed neatly in white and printed cottons, and the men dressed like Europeans, and carrying their Bibles or Testaments under their arms, sitting upon benches, instead of the ground as formerly, and singing the praises of God, with solemnity and harmony, from their psalm-books; turning in their Bibles to the text that was given out, and listening to the sermon with serious attention. I also found a church of Christ, consisting of about five and forty believing Hottentots, with whom I had several times an opportunity of commemorating the death of our Lord.

"On the week-days, I found a school, consisting of seventy children, regularly taught in the place of worship. The teacher was a Hottentot lad, who was actually a young savage when I first visited the kraal, and who, perhaps, had never seen a printed word in his life. When I first looked in at the door of the school, this lad was mending a pen, which a girl had brought him for that purpose. This action was such a proof of civilization, that, reflecting at the moment on his former savage condition, I was almost overwhelmed.

"On entering the school, I first visited a row of classes composed of little Hottentot girls, arranged along the right-hand wall, each class having a printed sheet of paper hanging on the wall before them, and each class furnished with a monitor to instruct them. The little monitors seemed to feel a degree of confidence by finding that they knew more than any in the classes they taught. It was delightful to me to see them pointing to letters with their rod, and requiring of each scholar their several names.

"Along the opposite wall were arranged classes of little Hottentot boys, drawn up and employed in a similar manner. The master was hearing the elder boys and girls read the New Testament in the Dutch language. These read very well. Some were writing in paper books, while others, less advanced, were writing on sand or slates.

"Such employments must tend greatly to promote civilized habits among the children, to improve their mental powers, and to render them more industrious; for in their former state they had nothing to do but to play and to sleep, the latter of which must have occupied the greater portion of their existence.

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"I found a considerable extent of cultivated land outside the wall, which the Hottentots plough and sow with wheat every year, though a portion of it is destroyed annually by their cattle getting into it while the herd-boys are fast asleep, and from which no punishment could altogether deter them. An officer of the Hottentot regiment told me that, had they shot all the Hottentot soldiers who were found asleep upon guard, they must have shot the whole regiment, and what would have been the use of officers *then?* said he.

"The Hottentots were, at the recommendation of the missionary, about to surround their fields with a wall, like that which inclosed their houses and gardens; but whether this has been effected I have not yet learned.

"Indolence, and procrastination of labour from indolence, is almost universal among Hottentots. At all our stations they endeavour to put off digging their gardens, and ploughing their fields, as long as possible, with this apology—'IT IS TIME ENOUGH YET!'

"Mr. Pacalt had much of this temper to contend with; but his fervent zeal, his persevering application, his affectionate counsels, and his personal example, so powerfully counteracted this prevailing disposition, that they actually performed wonders.

"All the Hottentots are still on a level with each other. There are yet no distinctions of rank amongst them. Some dress better than others; some have a waggon and more oxen than others, and, it may be, a better house; but these things produce no elevation of rank. They will as readily comply with the advice or injunction of the poorest as the richest. The operation of this state of things was severely experienced during the period that elapsed between the death of Mr. Pacalt

and the arrival of his successor, which I think was about four months. The Hottentots were like an army without a commander; every improvement ceased. Some of the Hottentots were for going on with the improvements which were included in the plan of their deceased teacher and friend; but the rest of the people would not attend to their advice, but desired that every thing should remain in the same state until the arrival of another missionary. They then began to labour with the same activity as before.

"Thus, Sir, have I given you, as well as I could, chiefly from memory, a circumstantial account of that Hottentot town, in both its states of barbarism and civilization, the latter effected by the introduction of Christian doctrines and duties, of both which they were as ignorant as brutes, only six years before. The facts I have stated were seen and heard by myself when present with them while in both conditions. I remember my worthy colleague Dr. Philip, who was with me on this visit to the kraal, while we were viewing the improvements, more than once whispered into my ear, 'What exquisite pleasure this sight must give you, having seen them in their barbarous state!'"

A commission of two members of the Court of Justice was appointed, a year or two ago, by the colonial government, to visit the missionary stations within the colony; and although I have not a copy of their official report, I am authorized by Mr. Neethling, one of the commissioners, to state, that they were not merely pleased but astonished and delighted in the very highest degree with what had been effected at Pacaltsdorp.

The late colonial secretary, Lieut.-Colonel Bird, who visited this station in 1819, expressed his opinion of it

to myself, in the following terms :—" I never saw, in any place," he observed, " more industry than at Pacaltsdorp : the men were all at work—I saw no appearance of idleness ; the women were busy ; the gardens were laid out in the most regular order, and full of vegetables and other produce ; the houses were regular, clean, and neat ; and, in short, in my whole journey into the interior, neither at Genadendal, nor anywhere else, did I see anything that delighted me so much as the missionary station at Pacaltsdorp."

To the testimony of the colonial secretary we may here add that of the venerable Van Kerval, the chief magistrate of the district of George, as related to the author by Sir Jahleel Brenton, his Majesty's naval commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope :—" When we approached this station," said Sir Jahleel, " Mr. Van Kerval addressed me in the following words :—' You see these houses, Sir Jahleel, these beautiful gardens and corn-fields ; when Mr. Pacalt came to this place, the whole grounds on which you see those marks of rising industry and civilization *were as bare as the palm of my hand*.*"

* Yet it is in reference to this very place, Pacaltsdorp, and of men such as Pacalt and Vanderkemp, (whom he ignorantly calls *Methodists*,) that a writer in the Quarterly Review, when reviewing Mr. Latrobe's " Visit to South Africa," has the hardihood to speak in the following terms :—

" These enthusiastic ranters have spread themselves over the colony, and gone beyond its limits, encouraging idleness, by instructing the natives in their own peculiar doctrines, and in nothing else, as is but too apparent in their filthy and wretched establishments, swarming with Hottentots still in a state of nakedness, or in their ancient sheep-skin clothing. Instead of expressing their gratitude to their Creator in hymns and songs, the methodist Hottentots do nothing but whimper, whine, and groan."

CHAPTER XIII.

Theopolis.—Attempts to people the Zuurveld.—Irruption of the Caffers.—Brave Defence of Theopolis.—The Hottentots assist the English in defending Graham's Town.—Ill Treatment of the Hottentots.—Hostility of the Governor.—Attempt to alienate the Lands of the Institution.—Late Improvements.

Of Theopolis, now the second missionary station in South Africa, the following account will, I hope, be read with interest, as it serves not only to illustrate the true character of the Hottentots and the utility of our institutions, but tends, also, to unveil that spirit of aggression which has been uniformly manifested towards them by the colonists and the colonial government.

From the establishment of the British power in South Africa, the attention of the local government was directed to the security of the eastern frontier; and, as a preparatory measure, the expulsion of the Caffers from the tract of country termed the Zuurveld (now the district of Albany) was proposed. Accordingly, in 1809, Colonel Collins was sent by the governor, Lord Caledon, to inspect that part of the colony, and to collect such information as might facilitate the accomplishment of the desired object, and guard the colony against future aggressions. Colonel Collins suggested to the government to increase the population along the eastern frontier; and, with this view, to offer grants of one hundred and twenty acres each to such persons as might be disposed to settle there. But it was not

before the year 1812 that the plan of expelling the Caffers from the Zuurveld was successfully carried into effect. The force employed on this service was partly composed of Hottentots belonging to the institution of Bethelsdorp, who, from their knowledge of the country, contributed much to the success of the enterprise, and acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the governor. Military posts were afterwards established, to prevent the return of the Caffers, and the boors and Hottentots were put under requisition, with a view to this object.

After the Zuurveld had been cleared of the Caffers, the government turned its attention, as proposed, to the measure of augmenting the population along the frontier, in order to keep them in check. Accordingly, in June, 1812, a proclamation was issued, by which all claims of the former possessors of loan places in the Zuurveld were annulled, and inhabitants from all parts of the colony were invited to settle on that frontier. Not fewer than four families were to be located in one spot; to *each* of these was to be granted, in perpetual quit-rent, a tract of land of two thousand morgen (or about four thousand acres), under the name of a Quit-rent Place. Several of the boors, who had formerly resided in the Zuurveld, as well as some others, were induced by these offers to fix on particular spots; but the few who made the experiment quickly dispersed.

This plan, from various causes, having failed, and the Caffers, who contrived to elude the military posts, committing continual depredations in the Zuurveld, the government recalled its proclamation of June, 1812, which located four families on one spot, and proposed that any boor who was desirous to obtain the two thou-

sand morgen, might go and fix on a place, in order to establish himself there.

Among the difficulties to which the boors who attempted to settle in the Zuurveld were subjected, was the following: they were unable to provide herdsmen for the protection of their cattle from the attacks of the Caffers, being too poor to purchase slaves, and there being in the country no Hottentots except those of Bethelsdorp, whose circumstances were better than they would have been in the service of those indigent boors. To remove, in part, this difficulty, the government gave orders that soldiers should be employed to protect the cattle of such boors as resided in the vicinity of military posts.

In 1813, the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp, being straitened for ground for their cattle, it was proposed to form another missionary institution, and the governor, Sir John Cradock, (the present Lord Howden,) being at that time on a visit to the frontier, the site of Theopolis was fixed upon for that purpose, it being at the entrance of the Carrega Kloof, and therefore favourable for keeping the Caffers in check in that quarter.

The grant of land made by Sir John Cradock for the use of the institution of Theopolis is supposed to have contained about six thousand acres; and the Hottentots who removed from Bethelsdorp to settle there, found themselves put in possession of extensive pasturage; while, by the opportunity of fishing at the mouth of the Kasouga river, and by the burning of lime from shells collected on the sea-beach, they were enabled to carry on a trade in those articles, and thus at once to benefit themselves and the other inhabitants,

and promote the general welfare of the district. The government was also compensated in this manner for the lands granted to the institution.

The Caffers soon became aware of the check which Theopolis presented to their incursions, and seemed to single it out for their vengeance. They found themselves, however, unable to stand against the Hottentots, whenever the latter were apprized of their designs; but, nevertheless, they frequently succeeded in committing depredations on the cattle of the institution. The Hottentots, notwithstanding the losses and inconveniences to which they were thus subjected, endured them with fortitude, and continued to advance in industry and civilization, and contributed much to the security of the district.

The government, having failed in its previous attempts to people the Zuurveld, on the 28th January, 1814, issued another proclamation with this view, offering further favourable conditions; and, to hasten its effect, confined the offer to the first fifty applicants. The boors, however, objected to the grants of two thousand morgen, (or four thousand acres,) as being too small; and little progress was, consequently, made in the peopling and cultivation of the Zuurveld.

In 1817, Lord Charles Somerset made a fresh attempt to effect this object; and by advertisement, under date of the 29th of March, (his Excellency being himself upon the spot,) confirmed the advantages offered in the preceding proclamations, with other favourable conditions.

The attacks of the Caffers at length assumed a more formidable character, there being reason to believe that they were made under the sanction of one of the

leading Caffer chiefs, named T'Slambie (or T'Lhambi). A commando, by direction of the government, was ordered against him, which succeeded in taking from the Caffers upwards of two thousand head of cattle.

It was hoped that this check would have operated as a preventive against future aggressions; but, nevertheless, the Caffers, from time to time, repeated their depredations; from which the people of Theopolis appear to have suffered in a proportion much greater than the colonists, though they were not afterwards proportionably compensated by the government. Being objects of peculiar resentment to the Caffers, they have had to sustain their most violent assaults. The fruits of their industry have been lost, their harvests destroyed, and their cattle stolen; but, notwithstanding all this, their spirit never gave way.

In the latter part of the year 1818, Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton was sent into Cafferland with a strong commando, to support Gaika against the insurgent chiefs; and, having attacked the kraals of T'Slambie and Phoonah, he captured sixteen thousand head of cattle. The same gazette in which the above circumstances are stated says—"It is to be expected that this blow will put a final stop to the attempts to renew the former aggressions on the colony; and that henceforward, by means of the friendly chief who is in our interest (Gaika), an intercourse mutually advantageous may be established with the tribes under his influence; thus not only replacing the present settlers of the fertile border in a most enviable attitude, but *holding out the strongest motives to further settlers* to establish themselves in a country unrivalled for fertility and beauty."

From the conclusion of the above paragraph, it ap-

pears, that the colonial government were still desirous of encouraging more inhabitants to settle in the Zuurveld. This district was still but thinly peopled; for the greater part of the former settlers, after its re-occupation in 1812, had abandoned their locations, and the few who were scattered over the country were not in a condition to offer any resistance to an attack from the Caffers, of which many at that time were apprehensive; and the event proved their fears to have been too well founded.

In the short space of *one month* after the above paragraph appeared in the Cape Gazette, the Caffers entered the colony in large bodies. The boors were not able to resist them, and most of them fled, abandoning their farms, and some their cattle and other property. The few who remained were in succession attacked, plundered of their cattle, had their houses burnt, and were compelled to fly. All the smaller military posts were abandoned *; and the greatest panic spread, not only through the whole Zuurveld, but also through part of the adjoining districts. The Caffers proceeded as far as the village of Uitenhage, and took even some cattle from the place of Barkhuisen, which is situated twelve miles in the rear of that drosdy.

Theopolis was now left to sustain the unchecked fury of the enemy. The Caffers surrounded the place in the midst of the rainy season, and kept it in a state resembling that of a siege, between two and three months. During this period, they repeatedly assailed

* Captain Gethin, of the 72d regiment, with a small detachment, was, after a brave resistance, surrounded and massacred, with several of his men. Another detachment, commanded by Lieut. Hunt, shared a fate nearly similar. See Cape Gazette, 20th Feb. 1819.

the village, but were as often defeated by the Hottentots, whose intrepid and successful resistance was such as to merit and to receive the approbation of the government, in the Cape Gazette of the 20th of March, 1819. Besides defending themselves, in the course of the same year a party of Hottentots from Theopolis were, by their courage and promptitude, greatly instrumental in saving Graham's Town from being captured by a very numerous and determined body of Caffers*.

It was not till after the lapse of eight months that the Caffers were finally driven out of the colony; and, during this time, the inhabitants of the Zuurveld, and those of Theopolis in particular, were exposed to continual suffering and alarm. When tranquillity was, in some measure, re-established, the cattle which had been taken from the Caffers, and not restored, were distributed among the boors, while to the Hottentots were either given none at all, or such as were not worth receiving. The Hottentots of Theopolis had, moreover, the mortification to see many of their own cattle, which they had assisted to retake from the Caffers, awarded, among others, to the colonists! They also suffered much loss from being inadequately compensated for their labours in assisting to raise fortifications on the frontiers †.

In consequence of the losses and sufferings they had sustained, during the repeated attacks of the Caffers on their village, the Hottentots of Theopolis were reduced to the most deplorable condition; but, notwithstanding these distresses and injuries, their spirit still remained unbroken; and expectations were indulged that they

* See Appendix. † See Appendix.

would, at length, surmount their numerous and complicated troubles.

It is extremely painful to state, that these hopes were, in a great measure, frustrated by the proceedings of some of the local authorities, from whom the Hottentots might reasonably have expected to receive countenance and encouragement. But, so far from being rewarded for their past services, or receiving due compensation for their losses, these afflicted people had now to endure, from the quarters alluded to, treatment more blighting and desolating in its effects than all that they had already sustained from the attacks of the hostile savages*.

In 1820, the emigrants from Great Britain arrived in Albany, and the allotment of a hundred acres of land to each family produced an application to Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, for such an augmentation of the lands of the institution as might confirm to the people of Theopolis what they had been hitherto permitted to occupy, as well as what appeared requisite for securing to them a continuance of the means of subsistence, and freedom from annoyance. A part only of the land prayed for was granted by the acting governor, but their communication with the sea-shore was still left open ; and the people of the institution had the satisfaction of seeing the settlers provided for in other places, while they themselves were left in undisturbed possession of those portions which they had cultivated, in pursuance of the privilege given by the proclamation of March, 1817.

In October, 1823, by the effect of excessive rains,

* See APPENDIX.

and consequent inundations, the settlement was nearly destroyed, including the church, school-house, and about a hundred thousand bricks in an unburnt state, which had been prepared by the Hottentots, for carrying on the buildings of an intended new village, in a more eligible situation.

In 1824, Commissioner Hayward was sent into Albany, to receive the representations of the British settlers, and to adjust their claims for land. As the Bethelsdorp memorial, for redress in favour of that institution, had met with much opposition, it was determined to wait his arrival, and to present a memorial in behalf of the institution of Theopolis, through the medium of the commissioner. To the memorial, however, now presented through Commissioner Hayward, no answer was received, but its fate at length became apparent, from a letter written by a settler in Albany to his friend in Cape Town, stating that the Hottentots of Theopolis were to lose all the land not included in their diagram, and that he himself (the writer of the letter) had been promised a share of it.

This distressing information was corroborated by a letter to me from the Rev. J. Brownlee, government missionary in Cafferland, who appears to have been accidentally at the institution, after the first intelligence of this event had reached the ears of the people. Of this communication, which is dated the 28th of March, 1825, the following is an extract :—

"I was lately on a visit to Theopolis, and was not a little gratified in beholding the greatly improved state of the Hottentots there, compared to what I have witnessed at former periods. I refer, not to the outward improvement on the institution, of which you are well

aware, but to the decent and orderly manner of the people in general; their appearance and earnest attendance on the means of grace; the appropriate and scriptural expressions used in prayer; the cordiality and affection manifested to their teachers, as esteeming them highly for their work's sake; at the same time exhibiting no signs of low servility, forced respect, or assumed courtesy; but, from what I could see and judge, an improved diligence in their outward callings, and an independence in appearance becoming and manly.

"I was delighted at the progress made by the children, and the particular earnestness of the adults, in the Sunday schools. From such appearances, we have reason to hope that the Hottentots will yet rise in the scale of society, and be capable of enjoying all the liberty of British subjects. In beholding these signs, as prognosticating the future happiness and prosperity of the aborigines of the colony, I was not a little grieved to hear that the most valuable part of the lands possessed by the Hottentots of this institution had been given away to persons whose claims for such allotments are nowise great; and, I am sorry to mention what I believe to be true, that some of the British settlers appear to have been the principal agents in effecting this momentary triumph over the temporal interests of the institution,—or what they call its 'ruin.'

"The ground given away includes all the best land, and the two fountains of water, namely, Long Fountain and that at the mouth of the river. All the good ground towards the coast, and to the eastward of the institution, and what is now under cultivation, is thus lost; and, if the original grant for the institution is

to be confirmed, the allotment, to make up its full extent, must include the ground still unoccupied on the west side of the institution, which is less adapted for agricultural purposes than that at present occupied; and this tract labours under the great additional disadvantage of a want of water. Another great inconvenience to the institution, resulting from this curtailment, is its depriving the people of a free communication with the coast, where many of them have formerly found the means of supporting their families, by burning lime, and by having it in their power to establish a fishery, which, with very little capital, might be successfully prosecuted, so as to prove a source of wealth to the institution, and give a number of hands an honest and independent employment. Had the people in this institution the power to establish a fishing station, they would have a ready market at Graham's Town for fish, which, when cured, would likewise fetch a very high price in the interior of the colony, where colonial produce would be given in exchange, so that double profit would be obtained."

On this subject a letter was also addressed to me, about the same period, by Mr. Pringle, one of the heads of the British emigrants, a gentleman whose high respectability is well known in South Africa, and also to many of my readers in England. It was written at Theopolis, and came to hand shortly after the receipt of Mr. Brownlee's letter. The following are extracts:—

"Four years have elapsed since my former visit to Theopolis, and at that time it had not recovered from the injury and severe harassment the people had suffered in the war with the Caffers. The village is now

removed to a more favourable situation: commodious houses for the missionaries, excellent school-rooms, both for children and adults, and some very superior houses, belonging to Hottentot families, have been erected. Some good gardens, and a considerable extent of cultivation, embellish the prospect, which is also, as you are aware, naturally of a much more rich and pleasing character than that of Bethelsdorp.

"But the improvement in the whole aspect, manners, and conduct of the Hottentots is what chiefly struck me. There is far more appearance of intelligence, activity, and enterprise among them than formerly. The general remarks I offered respecting the people of Bethelsdorp will apply with equal force to this place; the people are evidently anxious to improve, and they really have improved, and are improving, rapidly.

"The Sunday-school is a sight equally animated and interesting here as at Bethelsdorp. Old men with spectacles, an emaciated Bushman or two just reclaimed from savage life, native teachers, (one the son of a Caffer chief, another a Hottentot, who delivered an animated address to his countrymen in their native language,) were a few of the interesting features of the picture. But the general eagerness to learn, and the deep and devout attention with which they listened to their teachers, were still more gratifying.

"Mr. Brownlee, (whom I had the pleasure of accidentally meeting here,) in an evening address, informed them of the progress of the missions among the Caffers, and urged them to a pious emulation. All appeared to listen to him with profound and solemn reverence, and seemed cordially to rejoice in the commencing reclamation of their ancient enemies.

"The day-school for children appeared to be conducted with ability and success, and was very numerously attended. The restrictions in regard to clothing, enforced by Mr. Munro, have not yet been introduced here; and as a consequence partly of this, and partly, perhaps, of greater poverty among the people, the children were generally much worse clothed than at Bethelsdorp: but in this respect, also, they are gradually improving.

"The governor and colonial secretary visited this institution very recently. I have not heard what opinion they expressed, but their visit was very short, as Lord Charles appeared in a hurry to get off. Since that time I hear his lordship has deprived the inhabitants of access to the sea, by granting away the land hitherto occupied by them at the mouth of the Kasouga. Their boundaries have also, it is understood, been curtailed on every side by grants to the settlers. The deprivation of the land between the institution and the sea is the most injurious measure that could be aimed at the place, as it cuts off their best pasture and corn land, and debars them of access to the sea-beach, for the purpose of burning shell-lime, which was one considerable source of profitable employment. This land has, moreover, been given to a Mr. B——, who has no claims whatever on it: he belongs to a party of settlers located at a distance, and, indeed, since his arrival in the colony, has never resided permanently on any location, but has been generally ranging about for his amusement with the surveying officers on the frontier. He has been recommended for the present grant, merely from personal favour, by Captain Hope, a military heemraod of Albany."

About the time of the visit of Lord Charles Somerset and the secretary to Theopolis, to which allusion is made in the preceding letter, promises had been made to numerous applicants of the lands which were to be alienated from the institution; but having received no official communication from government on the subject, I was left without accurate information respecting the extent of the threatened infliction.

In the month of August following I visited Theopolis, and on that occasion I found Mr. Hope, the government surveyor, on the grounds, and he had then nearly finished his labours. On an examination of the survey made by this gentleman, I discovered that his instructions had gone even farther than had been reported to me. Not only the land not included in the original diagram, but one third of what was embraced by the diagram itself, was to be cut off from the institution. Whatever the motives of the planners of this partition might be, had it been contrived with a view to ruin and disperse the people, they could not have fallen on more effectual means to effect their purpose. The pasture land, on which the people depended for the support of their cattle, their fountains, and their corn-lands, which they had cultivated from the year 1815, were now to be taken from them. On the real character of this measure there was but one opinion among the friends and enemies of the institution. The friends of the oppressed Hottentots saw in it the meditated ruin of the institution, and their enemies saw it under the same aspect, and they did not conceal the joy it afforded them. Every thing had been done by the local authorities to prevent the improvement of the people, and those who regarded that improvement with jealousy scrupled not to tell our

missionaries, "That they would not be long at Theopolis! That it would not be long before they should have the Hottentots in their own power!"

It may be noticed in this place, that the colonial government was under no necessity to distress the Hottentots and the missionary institution, in order to provide for the persons among whom the lands of Theopolis were to be shared; and it may be proper to add, that if the claims of the settlers, who were to be accommodated at the expense of this missionary station, had rendered necessary such additional portions of land to their original grants, there was abundance of land, at this very time, in the same district, at the disposal of government, out of which they might have had competent allotments assigned them.

When we take into account the circumstances of the people to whom these lands have been given, the ease with which they might have been provided for, in a manner quite as much to their own satisfaction, from the lands of the Somerset Farm, or in the new district containing about two millions of acres, which the governor, at this very time, was distributing among the frontier boors; considering the circumstances which led to the first settlement of this institution, the losses the inhabitants had sustained by their neighbourhood to the Caffers, the important services which they had rendered to the colony, and the prosperous and progressive condition of the institution at the period of their visit, the conduct of the governor must, in this instance, appear altogether inexplicable, upon any principles either of common justice or rational policy.

This institution has, from its establishment on the frontier of the colony in 1813, proved equivalent to a

military post of one hundred men, and has thereby produced a saving to government more than equal to the whole value of all the lands originally belonging to the institution, multiplied by twenty-five or thirty. In addition to the security this institution has afforded to the colony, and the severe losses sustained by its inhabitants in bravely maintaining their ground against the Caffers, in advocating its claims I might further adduce the direct and indirect taxes which the inhabitants pay to the government, and the useful services they have rendered to the district in burning lime and felling and sawing timber; the number of the Hottentots who have been constantly employed in the government service, for which they never received any adequate remuneration; the large quota of young recruits it has supplied to the Cape regiment, and the asylum which it affords to discharged soldiers; the patient and amiable temper with which the people have borne their severe oppressions, and the confiding spirit with which they now look to the British government for relief; the rapid advances which they have made within these few years in knowledge, in piety, in industry, in wealth, and in all the branches of civilization; the consideration, that the people on this institution, amounting to eight hundred, notwithstanding their number, their services, and their sufferings, have not one fifth of the land allowed them which has been granted by government to individual families, who can show no claims to merit such favours; and to the claims we have thus enumerated we must not forget to add the claims arising from the cultivation of land, according to the proclamation of 1817, and the diagram previously granted to the institution by the colonial government. Does such a treatment comport

with the title of "*free people*," bestowed on the Hottentots? or will any one assert, in the teeth of such facts, that they are recognized as a people, or that they are viewed as having any rights in common with the colonial population?

Such were the feelings of the colonial government, in 1825, to the Hottentot population, and such the jealousy with which their rapid improvement in civilization and industry at our institutions was then viewed, that the best parts of the lands occupied by the people of the institution were promised to settlers, on the express condition that the receivers of the said lands were not even to presume to sell or transfer one inch of the ground thus obtained to the Hottentots or to the institution!

Satisfied that his Majesty's government in England could have no sympathy in common with the colonists, nor with the colonial government, on this subject, I drew up a full statement of the case, and transmitted it to the directors of the London Missionary Society, to be presented in the shape of a memorial to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In their memorial to his lordship, the directors embodied most of my statement, exhibiting the claims of Theopolis; the injury which the institution must inevitably sustain by the projected alienation of its lands; giving, at the same time, the names and the merits of the different applicants, together with a plan of the lands occupied by the institution, showing the divisions of the land contemplated, and the original diagram,* with

* A copy of this diagram, with a correct delineation and description of the lands thus alienated, will be found in the APPENDIX.

a line marking the section to be taken from it. The first intimation I received of the fate of the above memorial was communicated to me by Mr. Roger Edwards, of Theopolis, in the following extract of a letter, dated the 5th May, 1826:—

"Some weeks ago, I received a letter from Sir Richard Plasket, inclosing a copy of a communication from Earl Bathurst to his Excellency Lord Charles, proposing a grant of land to Theopolis, upon condition that the missionaries should not, after that, extend their possession, by purchase or otherwise, without the consent of his Excellency's government. The affair being of considerable importance, and I not feeling at liberty to take upon myself the responsibility of accepting or rejecting the offer; and as Mr. Foster had arrived at Bethelsdorp, I wrote to him for advice as to what reply might be returned. Mr. F. considered, with myself, that the offer was only a snare, and should be rejected. From the poverty of the offered land, it could be no equivalent for that of which we had been deprived, especially as a claim was put in for land between the institution and the sea, of a far more valuable soil, and which would secure to Theopolis the facility of procuring lime-shells. Earl Bathurst's communication, Sir Richard's letter, and the reply, are sent, or will be sent, home to the directors."

Another correspondent, who was well acquainted with the ground offered as a substitute, on the condition with which the offer is clogged, thus writes:— "The piece of ground offered is worth nothing; it is neither fit for cultivation nor for grazing."

When I was at Theopolis in 1825, an English settler had obtained leave from the local authorities to erect a public-house on this very spot of ground now offered to the institution in lieu of the valuable land of which it had been deprived. On the arrival of the English settlers in South Africa in 1820, I found that by reading the descriptions of Barrow, many of their minds were filled with indignation against the old colonists for their treatment of the Hottentots. They were then, in general, in the habit of expressing themselves in the strongest terms of reprobation against all the atrocities said to have been committed by the Dutch against this oppressed people. But, alas! poor human nature! Many of them had not been three years in Africa, when they imbibed all the feelings of the people whom they had so loudly condemned, and went beyond them in the worst part of their conduct. Like Hazael, who, on being told by the weeping prophet the cruelties he should commit upon the children of Israel, men can detest a crime in the abstract, to which it will require less than the temptation of a crown to reconcile them.

In the midst of this lamentable degeneracy, I am happy, for the honour of my country and human nature, to notice some respectable exceptions. Mrs. General Campbell, Thomas Philipps, Esq., Major Pigot, and several others, treated their Hottentots well; and I have been informed by these respectable individuals, that they could always get, from the institution at Theopolis, as many Hottentot servants as they wanted. While they who treated them with equity and kindness could readily obtain servants, those of another description, whom the people refused to serve, began

to think of the erection of a public-house, as a means by which they might inveigle the Hottentots. When the people and the missionaries complained to me on this occasion, and asked my advice, I informed them that the only remedy I could devise was in their own power. Having pointed out to the people the certain consequences which would result to the institution, and to the Hottentots at large, from this public-house meeting with any encouragement among them, I recommended them to pay particular attention to the persons who might visit it, and to have their names given up to be prayed for in public twice a week. A propensity to indulge in spirituous liquors has ever been the bane of the Hottentots, as, indeed, it is generally of all uncivilized tribes; and the result of the experiment under consideration may be adduced as an answer to all the calumnies heaped upon the Hottentots at this institution, and as an unanswerable argument in favour of the utility of our labours among this class of people. In a letter dated May, 1826, Mr. Barker, the missionary at Theopolis, states the following facts:—" I am happy to inform you that they are, this day, removing the materials of the public-house which was erected to ruin the institution. It has stood eight months, and not a single Hottentot, to our knowledge, has entered it since its erection."

While Colonel Frazer was deputy landdrost at Graham's Town, and Mr. Ulbricht (the late missionary superintending the institution) was able to attend to the affairs of the station, Theopolis enjoyed superior advantages to Bethelsdorp; but the Caffer war, in 1819, and the system of oppression which was intro-

duced after the departure of Colonel Fraser, together with the protracted illness of Mr. Ulbricht, and the want of a suitable person to take the charge of the station, retarded for a considerable time the progress of the institution. When I visited Theopolis, in 1821, the village which the deputation had seen in 1819, and which the Caffers had in vain attempted to destroy, had lost two-thirds of its inhabitants. The people were scattered over the lands in small parties, living in the bushes, and returning rapidly to the savage state out of which they had emerged. There was no school on the station; the people very seldom attended public worship on the sabbath; the young people were without clothing; and the clothes formerly worn by those more advanced in years were either gone, or reduced to a few tattered rags. In many instances, they had no clothing but the ancient sheep-skin caross.

The means adopted for the improvement of Bethelsdorp, which have already been detailed, were introduced at Theopolis, and they have been followed by similar results. The school now commands the admiration of every visiter. The place of worship is, on Sabbath, crowded with attentive and devout worshippers. The Sabbath schools and prayer meetings are as encouraging and animating as those at Bethelsdorp. Exhilarated by the influence of hope, and kind treatment on the part of the missionaries, the people have become industrious. A new village, which is an honour to the society, has been created, by their individual and united exertions. Clothed in British manufactures, the grown up people, and even the children, come to the

house of God with delight exhibited in their countenances. A standard of morals has been established among them, which condemns drunkenness, idleness, and licentiousness; the people find that they have characters to sustain; and the savage habits, formerly visible among them, have given place to decency, kindly affections, social duties, and reverence and love to their teachers.

On my late visits to those institutions, they met me, in companies, one hundred and fifty miles before I reached Bethelsdorp; and relays of oxen from the two institutions were kept in readiness along the road for three hundred miles, for which they refused remuneration, professing themselves happy to show this testimony of their love to myself and to the society.

On reaching Theopolis, on my last journey into the interior, a suspicion (absurd enough, no doubt,) had got abroad, that I was in danger of being assassinated. Under this impression, ten of the people, with Captain Boezak* at their head, volunteered their service to accompany me, as an escort. I tried in vain to persuade them, that I had nothing of that nature to fear; their minds were too fully engrossed with the apprehension, to be reasoned out of it, and they determined to accompany me, even if I left them to depend on the chase for the means of subsistence.

I cannot here resist introducing an example of piety and elevation of mind displayed by one of the persons who met me on this occasion, which I am sure will be read with peculiar interest. He was seized, the first

* The same individual who assisted so bravely and effectually in defending Graham's Town, when assaulted by the Caffers, in 1819.

night he joined us, with an inflammation of the lungs. As soon as this circumstance became known to us, we unyoked our oxen, and had recourse to the usual remedy in such cases. My Hottentot driver could bleed, and always carried a lancet with him. We made a bed for our suffering companion under a bush; and the night being serene, and the moon at the full, and shining on his countenance, we had a good opportunity of observing so much of the expression of his mind as could be seen in his face. During the whole time of the operation, and while his countenance exhibited every mark of internal tranquillity and joy, he continued discoursing in the most rational and elevated strain of piety. "What a mercy," said he, "that I have not now a Saviour to seek! How awful must my state have been, had I deferred making religion my concern till now! I know in whom I have believed, and he is able to keep that which I have committed into his hands until that day!"

When we had bound up his arm, he turned his head to me, and, with a smile upon his countenance, remarked,—"You are on the King's business, and it requires haste; you must not wait for me! Leave me here, under this bush; my heavenly Father, who careth for the young ravens, will take care of me!"

It is unnecessary to inform my readers, that we did not leave this interesting man behind us. I have known him ever since my first arrival in South Africa, and I can safely say, I never knew a more amiable and excellent man; and I am happy to add, that he ultimately recovered, and still lives a most exemplary and truly christian life. Shortly after his recovery, I received

an excellent letter from him, which I have unfortunately lost, giving an account of the state of his mind; and entering very fully into the nature of the exertions I was then making for the improvement of the natives of South Africa.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hottentots prevented from possessing Land.—Zuurbrak, or Caledon Institution.—Conduct of Seidenfaden, and of the Colonial Government.—Ruin of the Institution, and dispersion of the Inhabitants.

It is not a little remarkable that the British government should make such a difference between the natives of India and those of South Africa. In India, the natives are the landed proprietors, and Europeans are not allowed to hold land in the country. In South Africa, the country is wholly in the hands of the colonists, and the natives are practically incapacitated from holding lands.

In 1822, when one of the British settlers at Clan William applied for additional lands, he was directed by the deputy landdrost of the district to take possession of a spot called Varkens-Fonteyn, a valley at the distance of some hours' ride from the place where he resided. On visiting the place, this gentleman, to his surprise, found the land promised him cultivated by some industrious Hottentots, whose ancestors had probably possessed the same spot before any Europeans set their feet on the shores of South Africa. He was pleased with the land and with the state of cultivation in which he found it; but he was so struck with the injustice which would have been done to the Hottentots in dispossessing them, that he refused to accept of it on the terms on which it had been offered to him. On stating to the local authority the reasons for which he declined accepting the grant, the man in office could

not have expressed more contempt than he did at his scruples, had they been made in behalf of its ancient inhabitants, the baboons.

Another illustration of this subject will be found in the conduct of the colonial government towards Caledon Institution. This ancient Hottentot kraal, situated in the district of Swellendam, is about fourteen miles distant from the principal town, which bears the name of the district, and it may be about one hundred and fifty miles from Cape Town.

When Lord Caledon visited the interior of the country in 1808, the lands belonging to this institution, with a small portion of land on the Slange River, were the only places in the district then in the possession of the Hottentots; and his lordship was so much struck with the appearance of the people, and so well pleased with the favourable accounts he had heard of them, that he is reported to have said, standing in the midst of this aboriginal tribe, "I shall take care that the colonists shall not take the land from you;" and he ordered it, accordingly, to be given to them in the name of Captain Moses, the chief of the kraal, for the benefit of the people.

On the visit of the deputation of the London Missionary Society to this institution in 1819, we found that the people had been oppressed and impoverished by a person named Seidenfaden, under the character of a missionary*. After an investigation of eleven days, in the course of which we obtained the fullest proofs of the unfitness of this man to be missionary, we en-

* Mr. Seidenfaden is a native of Germany. He was first sent out as a missionary by a society in Holland; and was, at the time of our visit, in the service of the London Missionary Society.

deavoured to induce him to remove in a peaceable manner. With this view, we offered him a fair remuneration for the personal property he might have in the institution; and we at the same time apprized him, that should he continue to refuse the terms proposed to him, we should apply to the government to procure his removal. Instead of showing any signs of contrition for the unworthy conduct of which he had been convicted, while the deputation was yet with him, he wrote a letter to the colonial government, complaining of us; and requesting the government to cede to himself and his family, as private property, the whole of the lands belonging to the institution. To this application Mr. Seidenfaden received from the colonial office an answer, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Colonial Office, 6th July*, 1819.

"SIR,

"Having laid before H. E. the Governor your letter of the 12th of last month, in which you allude to certain differences which appear to exist between the gentlemen appointed to the superintendence of the London Missionary Society's missions in this part of South Africa and yourself, and request, in consequence, to be confirmed and secured in your residence at the Zuurbrak upon the same terms upon which you were originally placed there, I am directed to inform you, and to recal to your recollection, that, previous to your going into the district of Swellendam, the ancient Hottentot kraal, of which Captain Moses was then the head, was established between the lands now called Zuurbrak and those in the occupation of Mr. Eksteen. This interesting remnant of the Hottentot tribe, whose industry and good conduct were represented to the go-

vernor at that time, (the Earl of Caledon,) excited his lordship's anxiety to be essentially serviceable to them, insomuch that, upon his return from having visited them, he directed the landdrost of the district to apportion to their use the adjoining lands, now called the Zuurbrak; and he recommended that another kraal, which was situated at the Slange River, should be invited to join them. Shortly after his lordship's return to Cape Town you withdrew from Tulbagh, in consequence of a dispute you had had with the magistrate of that district; and you represented to me that you should like to have leave to reside in the Swellendam district, for the purpose of instructing the heathen; and in consequence thereof, I wrote to the landdrost, recommending him to permit you to reside at Captain Moses' kraal for that purpose. Certainly no right to any of the lands there was ceded, or intended to be ceded, either to you or to any other persons; they were lands solely appropriated to the use of the two kraals above-mentioned; and H. E. the Governor will not now disturb, or permit them to be disturbed, in their legal possession. He cannot admit of any other persons having any claims whatsoever upon these lands; and thus he cannot confirm to you what he is sensible never was alienated from the Hottentots.

"His Excellency laments that there should be any dispute between you and the gentlemen who act here for the directors of the Missionary Society; but H. E. having nothing to do with that circumstance, and not being aware what it has to do with the question of an occupation of these lands, can in no shape enter into the subject, or give an opinion upon it.

"I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) "C. Bird."

In the month of July, 1820, and more than a twelvemonth after this application was made, above twenty of the men on the station came to Cape Town, to throw themselves before the acting governor, to pray that the application made for the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden might be heard. I communicated this circumstance to the acting governor. His Excellency declined seeing them; but he authorized me to assure them that their suit should be attended to, and that immediate steps should be taken to afford them relief.

On reviewing the subject in the colonial office, Sir Rufane met with difficulties. It was alleged that the government could not act in the expulsion of Mr. Seidenfaden, on the investigation of the deputation of the London Missionary Society; that the complaints brought against this man should be investigated by the colonial magistrates; and if, upon their examination, he should be found guilty, it would then be time to dismiss him. In reply to my objections, his Excellency the acting governor assured me that I should be associated with the landdrost in this inquiry; that a few days would terminate it; that the leading features of the subject only were required; and that the case should not be remitted into the hands of the court of justice, but should be decided by himself. On these terms I took a journey to Swellendam.

On my arrival there, instead of finding the landdrost prepared to enter into the investigation, he amused me with frivolous excuses for delaying it. After waiting some days, and using all the means in my power to secure the object of my journey, to no purpose, I rereturned to Cape Town; and, immediately on my

return, the landdrost was commanded to proceed in the investigation without me.

It was, by this time, evident that the colonial government was determined to defend and support Mr. Seidenfaden*. Contrary to the promise made to me, that the investigation should take place at the Hottentot kraal, and last a few days only, the whole of the Hottentots were brought from their homes to Swellendam, and kept there *two months*. On the manner in which this trial was conducted I shall not now enlarge; but shall dismiss it by remarking, that I was called upon to pay, out of the funds of the Missionary Society, for the victuals consumed by all the people, not excepting the servants of Mr. Seidenfaden.

Instead of having the decision I was promised, the investigation of the landdrost was deposited in the colonial office, and I heard no more of it till the arrival of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, in 1823, when it was called for by them, at my request, previous to their tour into the interior of the colony.

On the arrival of the Commissioners at Zuurbrak, or Caledon institution, they entered into an investigation of some of the charges brought against Mr. Seidenfaden, when the following facts were proved:— The arable land belonging to this institution lies in a narrow valley, divided by a stream of water. On one side of the stream the slip of ground is narrow, but it

* I could not return to Swellendam to attend the trial myself, and my eyes were by this time so far enlightened as to abate my expectations respecting the result; but my own safety now made it necessary that I should have a person employed in the court, to furnish me with an account of the proceedings.

admits of irrigation, and here the Hottentots had their gardens. Scarcely had Mr. Seidenfaden settled on the institution, when he coveted this ground, and persuaded the people to remove their gardens to the other side of the river. The new gardens were laid out and cultivated; but, having no means of leading water over them, the produce was scanty, and even the little that did grow was destroyed by the cattle of this missionary. To defend themselves against the cattle, they inclosed their houses and gardens by a common wall; and Mr. Seidenfaden persuaded them to dig a trench, for the purpose of irrigating their gardens, and he promised to assist them in bringing a stream of water into it, across an intermediate valley, by an aqueduct. After much labour and toil, this work was completed, and the labour of the people no longer required in it; but the water had not run more than a few weeks in the ditch, when they were ordered to quit their houses and gardens, and to erect for themselves other huts, outside of the wall of the inclosure, which they had raised by their own industry, and on a barren part of the hill, to which they could lead no water, and where they could not have the semblance of gardens. The grounds inclosed in this manner, and on the pretence that they were to be sacred to the people, were soon to be converted into a corn-field, for the missionary.

During the time this investigation was going on, a poor woman on the station lodged the following complaint. Her son, a little boy, was a herdsman to Mr. Seidenfaden: one night, he slept on the ground, and the wolf came, and destroyed some of his master's colts. The loss was estimated by Mr. Seidenfaden at

one hundred and twenty rix-dollars. The mother was a widow, and not able to pay this demand; and Mr. Seidenfaden, who acted as judge in his own case, gave away the boy to a farmer, on an indenture of five years, for one hundred and twenty rix-dollars; sixty of which the farmer paid when he apprenticed the boy, and the other sixty Seidenfaden was to receive at the expiration of the term agreed upon.

These are but specimens of this man's conduct towards the Hottentots; and they are stated here, not because they exhibit greater atrocity than other instances which might be mentioned, but because they came out during the investigation of the Commissioners of Inquiry at this station. In 1823, these gentlemen declared, after investigation of the charges against him on the spot, that he was the most unfit man in the world for being a missionary. This furnishes an instance of the regard which the colonial government pays to the rights of Hottentots.

In 1819, all the people at this institution, the servants of Mr. Seidenfaden excepted, prayed for his removal. About one year after this circumstance, above twenty of the men came to Cape Town, (a journey of three hundred miles, including going and returning,) to pray the governor to have him removed. During all this time, and for nearly six years, the agent of the London Missionary Society was trying every means, and incurring a considerable expense, to obtain the same end. In February, 1824, Lord Charles Somerset informed me that he had received a letter from Mr. Bigge, one of his Majesty's commissioners, saying that "this Seidenfaden was the most unfit man imaginable for being a missionary;" and yet

it was not till March, 1825, that I received a note from the colonial office, informing me, (after the people had been dispersed, and the institution ruined,) that his lordship had seen it to be expedient to remove Mr. Seidenfaden, and inquiring, at the same time, whether the London Missionary Society had any claims on the institution, or on Mr. Seidenfaden.

To this communication, I stated in reply, that it was now nearly six years since the deputation of the London Missionary Society had prayed the colonial government for the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden from that institution, and had discharged him from all connexion with the society, whose affairs they were sent to the colony to regulate. That the London Missionary Society had no claims upon the soil of the institution; nor could they exhibit any other claims to send a teacher to succeed Mr. Seidenfaden than such as might arise from previous occupation, and from the manner in which they had discharged their duty to the people belonging to Zuurbrak. If the agents of the London Missionary Society had not discharged their duty to the Hottentots at Zuurbrak, occupation was not sufficient to establish any claim, and the government had a right to say to us,—"You have made void your claims to this station, by having neglected to fulfil your duties to the people." But if, on the other hand, his Excellency should find we had done our duty to the Hottentots, his Excellency must admit, that, in the selection of another teacher to this institution, the London Missionary Society was entitled to the preference, and should not be refused it. That when the colonial government gives to a farmer a piece of waste land, and promises that it shall never be taken from him, so long

as he keeps it in a state of cultivation, it would be allowed that, while the farmer fulfils the condition on which he received this land from the government, he has a claim upon the land; but, contrariwise, if the cultivation of the land be neglected, the government may justly resume its grant. That, in like manner, if the London Missionary Society had fulfilled the conditions, expressed or implied, on which they were allowed to occupy as a missionary station the lands of Zuurbrak, their claims to appoint a missionary to succeed Mr. Seidenfaden could not be disputed; but if the contrary could be shown, the claims of the society were forfeited, and the government had a right to say to us, "You have not done your duty, and we have no further occasion for your services." That Zuurbrak and Pacaltsdorp are both old Hottentot kraals; and that, as I consider the right of the London Missionary Society to the occupation of those stations as resting upon the same foundation, for a further exposition of my views on this subject, I begged leave to refer his Excellency to my correspondence with the colonial government on the appointment of Mr. Anderson to the latter station.

In answer to this letter, I was informed, by an official note dated 6th April, 1825, that "with regard to the nomination of a successor to Mr. Seidenfaden, his Excellency could never allow any right whatever to such nomination to exist in the heads or representatives of any societies in this colony; this being a question which must rest entirely in the discretion of his Majesty's government; and in the exercise of that discretion, which, until his Majesty's pleasure be known, devolves upon his Excellency, he would be guided alone by an anxious desire to promote the hap-

piness, and to secure the gradual improvement, of the Hottentots of this kraal; that, whatever his decision might be on this subject, he desired it might be clearly understood, that he disclaimed the most remote intention of imputing the slightest degree of blame to the society, of which Mr. Seidenfaden was formerly a member."

Before the close of this correspondence with the colonial government, I received the following intelligence from a gentleman of the best information in the district of Swellendam, whose name I am not, at present, at liberty to disclose. The letter from which the extract is taken, containing the intelligence in question, is dated the 27th May, 1825. "Some one," he states, "has been applying for the Hottentot lands of Zuurbrak, on the score of there being no Hottentots or stock to occupy them; and they, or part of them, are about to be given away."

On the 2d of the following June, I left Cape Town with a view to visit the missionary stations, and I arrived at Zuurbrak on the 10th. On my arrival on the site of the institution, I found that Mr. Seidenfaden had been removed, by an order from his Excellency the governor, two months previous to that period. On riding over the grounds with the Hottentot captain, (Smith,) I found that two farmers, on the encouragement which had been given to their applications, had come and taken possession; and that another farmer in the neighbourhood was in the habit of sending his cattle and sheep to graze over the pasture lands. Joachin Matts had built a house on the grounds of the institution, in which he then resided with his family; and he was now ploughing and sowing, and keeping

his herds of cattle, &c., upon the lands formerly grazed by the cattle of the Hottentots. Jacobus Dirik, formerly a boor of the Bosjesveld, had taken possession of a house erected by the Hottentots for catching wolves; and in this place, with a small addition he had made to it, he resided with his family. On the Hottentot captain asking the field-cornet on what authority this man came to reside on the institution with his family and cattle, he was informed, by the local authority, that Jacobus Dirik had got a promise that he should have half the lands of the institution, and that he must allow his cattle to graze over them unmolested. The third person alluded to, who was in the habit of sending his cattle, &c. to graze on these lands, was the field-cornet himself. This person is a petty magistrate of the district, immediately under the landdrost, and he stated to the Hottentot (Smith) that he had had the promise of part of the lands, as soon as his Excellency the governor should receive authority from home to make the intended partition.

The Hottentot huts on the site of the institution were reduced to nine in number. The huts still inhabited were all in a ruinous condition: some of them had their turf walls propped by buttresses, to keep them from falling; two were without gables; two or three of them were half covered only, the other parts of the roofs having fallen in. On the site of the institution I found fifteen men: seven of these were advanced in years, and unable to work; one of them was blind; and these eight people were entirely dependent upon the little assistance given them by their neighbours, and the wild roots they might gather. Two were in bad health: so that all the effective men on the institution

were five only. Scattered over the lands of the institution, I found in temporary habitations, besides those already mentioned as living at the village, thirteen men; and two of these were old and decrepit, and wholly dependent.

Among the farmers, within one day's ride of the institution, I found seventy-seven men formerly belonging to the institution. In addition to these seventy-seven men, now among the farmers, and within one day's ride of Zuurbrak, there were sixty-three men, originally from this institution, in the Cape regiment, who have enlisted, or been drafted off, within these three years; and there were, at the village of Zuurbrak, and on the lands of the institution, at a distance from the village, twenty-eight men; making, in the whole, one hundred and sixty-eight. The abodes of all these men we accurately ascertained. Including wives and children, mothers and sisters, and allowing upon an average, on a very moderate calculation, one woman and child to each man, this gives us a population of five hundred and twenty-four souls.

The greater part of these people had been driven from the institution by the cruel oppressions exercised upon them, and would return to it as soon as the present question should be decided in their favour; and all of them devoutly wished that their right to it might not be lost; that they might have it as a home, to which they could bring their wives, their children, and their aged parents; and to which they might ultimately come themselves, when their terms of servitude in the Cape regiment, or among the boors, would permit them.

From the inquiries I have made among the people

themselves, I am warranted in giving it as my opinion, that there is not an individual among them who does not wish these lands to be continued as formerly. It would be quite unnatural to suppose the case should be otherwise; and the question, whether these lands are still to belong to the Hottentots, involves much more serious consequences than can be apprehended in England without explanation.

Many other facts relating to this case, of a similar character to those already enumerated, might be detailed; but, as many of them will be found in other parts of this work, I shall at present confine my remarks to a grievance which the people residing on the site of this institution have laboured under for years, and which now threatens to drive away the few who still remain upon it. When they had no missionary they were not called to perform any compulsory services to government; but one of the first things required of them after Mr. Seidenfaden came among them, was, that they should once a week carry the mail over the mountains to the residence of Dolf van Kolder. This farmer lives about eight hours journey from the institution, and this service requires a man two days every week. Mr. Seidenfaden was post-master of the district, and received from government, for sending the mail even a shorter distance on the main road, six hundred rix-dollars per annum; and he was not more favoured in this particular than other colonists, the persons in the same office on the main road having a similar allowance; but the question naturally occurs, why should the Hottentots be called to perform for nothing that for which a boor receives six hundred rix-dollars per annum? As the people are obliged to perform this compulsory service,

each in his turn, its oppression was not formerly so much felt as it is at this moment, when there are not more than five men on the institution able to undertake the journey. Owing to this circumstance, it frequently comes round to the same individual once in three weeks, and sometimes once in a fortnight. The burden has now become so heavy on those on whom it falls, that they express it as their opinion, that if they are not relieved, they must also leave the institution; and should this take place, there are nine aged and infirm persons on the place, who will, in all probability, be left to starve, for want of the necessaries of life. This burden has been considerably increased by the removal of Mr. Seidenfaden from the institution. That individual has taken a farm an hour and a half or two hours' journey from the institution, and he is still continued by government as post-master. In consequence of this circumstance, in addition to the journey already mentioned, the people have to travel from the institution to Mr. Seidenfaden, for the mail-bags, which they have to carry over the mountains; thus adding to their burden, already too heavy, an additional journey of three or four hours,—in short, nearly another day in the week.

Leaving the reader to his own reflections on the plain statement of facts exhibited in this case, I shall conclude my remarks upon it by a brief reference to the right of the Hottentots to the lands of the Zuurbrak, and to the regard which has been paid to those rights by the colonial government.

It is admitted by the letter of Colonel Bird, the secretary to government, that the lands of Zuurbrak had never been alienated from the tribe whose rights

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have been so wantonly violated in this instance; and that on the circumstances of that tribe being made known to the governor (the Earl of Caledon), his Excellency, after having visited them, gave directions to the landdrost to apportion to their use the lands of Zuurbrak, afterwards denominated Caledon Institution. The following circumstances, in the same letter, show the views entertained by Lord Charles Somerset and Colonel Bird, in 1819, of this transaction of the Earl of Caledon, and of the nature of the right of the Hottentots to this land. On the alleged principle that the lands had been granted to Captain Moses and his people, an application from Mr. Seidenfaden for those lands, in 1819, was rejected with becoming firmness. "Certainly," said the colonial secretary, Colonel Bird, in answer to this unprincipled request; "Certainly, no rights to any of the lands there were ceded to you, or to any other person;" and he assigns, as a reason for this opinion, that those lands "were solely appropriated to the use of the two kraals; viz. that residing on the lands of Zuurbrak, and a kraal of Hottentots on the Slange river, who had been induced to join the kraal of Zuurbrak, for greater security." The secretary, moreover, assures the applicant, that "his Excellency will neither disturb, nor permit to be disturbed, in *their legal possession*, this interesting remnant of the Hottentot tribe." And he goes on further to state, that "his Excellency (Lord Charles Somerset) cannot admit of any other persons having any claims whatsoever upon these lands; and thus he cannot confirm to you what he is sensible never was alienated from the Hottentots."

The rights of these people to the lands at Zuurbrak,

being thus repeatedly recognized by government, seem to me to be in no respect more questionable than those by which other persons hold lands on any other property in the colony. Indeed this seems to be admitted on the grounds alleged to justify the alienation, namely, that "there are no Hottentots or stock to occupy them."

While I am willing to give credit to the colonial government, for having rejected the request of Seidenfaden, might not that government have found enough in the request itself to have justified it in complying with the prayer of the deputation of the London Missionary Society, to have him removed? Is it not a misdemeanor, according to the law of England, to offer a bribe to an officer of his majesty's government, or even to the king himself, for a situation in the service of government? What, then, shall we say of the conduct of a missionary, who makes such a request as that which he prefers in this instance? Could the colonial government suppose for a moment that a man preferring a request, which was an outrage on all the principles of religion and morals, was a fit person to teach the very people the principles of religion and morality, on whom he proposed to commit this deliberate robbery! Had the charges preferred against him been less aggravated in their character, and had the proof been less clear than it was, this request was alone sufficient to have justified his expulsion.

I trust I have said enough, in answer to the plea which is used to justify the proposed partition of the lands of this institution. There are twenty-eight men upon these lands; there are seventy-seven within one day's ride of the institution, who anxiously wish to

return to it, or at least to send their wives and children to it; and it cannot be denied but that it would be cruel indeed to deprive the sixty-three men in the Cape regiment of such an asylum for themselves and their families, after they are no longer able to serve the government. And for whom are all these people to be sacrificed? For the accommodation of two or three boors, not superior in civilization, and perhaps not equal in morals, to several, I may add to many, of those people, who are to be deprived of the land of their fathers—of land, which had been confirmed to them by the benevolence of Lord Caledon. What right, what claims have those boors upon the possessions of these poor people? What claims have they upon government? None.

Here we have a complete case. We see its beginning, its progress, and its consummation. Here is a man, "the most unfit person in the world for being a missionary," flogging, plundering, and demoralizing the people under him for six years together, under the very eye of government; supported against the prayers, and petitions, and complaints of the sufferers and their friends; permitted to appropriate their labour and property to his own advantage; driving them, by his own authority, from one fertile spot after another, till they find themselves on the bare mountain, without water, or the necessaries of life; and only dismissed when no more remains for him to perpetrate; when his work is done; the rising community being crushed and dispersed, and the lands ripe for alienation, "there being no Hottentots or stock to occupy them." What security has any other similar institution against the like fate?

In what, may we now ask, consist the rights of the

aboriginal inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope to possess any land in the colony? Do they claim it by inheritance from their fathers? That plea has been long since exploded. Does it consist in prior occupation? When lands are to be granted, can they rely on this presumption, as the other free colonists do? Look at the lands of Zuurbrak and Theopolis for an answer. But surely promises, grants, and recognitions by the colonial government itself, backed by long occupancy, give them a solid and secure, as well as a *legal* right? The people at Zuurbrak had all these, and yet they are entirely overthrown.

The system, of which these proceedings are the legitimate fruit, is, I hope, drawing towards a close. His Majesty's government can have no interest in supporting it for a moment, after they are convinced of its nature and effects; nor do I suppose that any earthly interest can induce them to sanction open violence and injustice, or authorize the systematic degradation of so large a portion of their fellow-subjects*.

* After a struggle for the rights of the Hottentots of this station, which, indeed, involves the rights of all the aboriginal population of South Africa, I have heard, since this chapter was put into the hands of the printer, that his Majesty's Government has decided this case in favour of the Hottentots. I hope this act of justice in behalf of a long-oppressed people may be viewed as a pledge of the beneficent intentions of government towards them in future. It must be obvious to every reader of these pages, that the efforts of the missionaries cannot be longer sustained, unless the people and the institutions have parliamentary enactments to protect them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Oppressions of the Colonial Government increase with the Improvement of the Institutions.—Treatment of the Missionaries and Hottentots of Theopolis by the Authorities of Albany.—Case of William Bruintjes.—Compulsory labours of the Hottentots.

The reasons hitherto assigned by the colonists and the colonial government, for the opposition made to our missions, were,—that we did not civilise the people; that we taught them nothing but religious doctrines, which they could not comprehend; that, after they came to reside at our missionary stations, they were left to remain in their native love of indolence and filth; and that, in short, their characters were *deteriorated* by our labours. And these calumnies had been repeated, and were published in the literary journals of England, till they were beginning to gain a certain degree of credit with many who were not unfriendly to the object of missionary societies. While such remarks were made by travellers merely, they had but little influence on my mind; but when I heard them brought forward by the colonial government and the local authorities of the country, as grave criminations against our missionaries, and as reasons for the measures adopted against the missions, not then knowing all the various reasons the local authorities of the country had to connive at the oppressions of the people, I flattered myself that, to gain their approbation, and the approbation of the colonial government, it was

necessary only to elevate our missionary stations by removing all the existing grounds for charges of this nature. By the experiment which has been made, the sincerity of the parties making those objections, and alleging the excuses which have been assigned for continuing the oppression of the people, has been brought to the test; and the sequel will show the reader how it has endured this trial.

So far from meeting with encouragement in our attempts to improve the people, with very few exceptions, the attempts made to injure our institutions were multiplied in proportion as our success became more and more apparent. While the low state of our missions was employed as a pretext for keeping them in that very condition, it has been fully shown, that nothing was so much dreaded, so much opposed, and so offensive, as the growing prosperity of the people at our missionary stations.

For further corroboration of this allegation, it is necessary only to glance at the following cases. Attempts were made, at different times, by the local magistrates of the district, to make Dr. Vanderkemp a tool to oppress the people under him, without effect*: but when the same attempts were made upon those who succeeded him, they were more successful; and it is difficult to say, while that system continued, which were more to be pitied, the missionaries or the Hottentots. Two examples, on this point, will suffice; and I should feel that I did injustice to the subject did I not give them in the words of the local authorities themselves, and with the official stamp which I found upon them.

I shall commence with a correspondence between

* See p. 121.

the authorities of Albany and the missionaries at Theopolis. It is here printed precisely in the shape in which it was transmitted to me by Mr. Barker, the missionary who succeeded Mr. Ulbricht at Theopolis.

" *Graham's Town, Nov.* 13, 1820.

" SIR,

" Captain Somerset has ordered me to request of you to forward to this place five other Hottentots, to exchange with the five sent on a former occasion.

" I remain, &c.

(Signed) " M. J. ONKRUYDT." *

" *To Mr. Ulbricht.*"

" SIR,

" The deputy landdrost has ordered me to address a letter to you, in order to inquire into the reasons why you have not complied with my last letter, which had been written in his name. He has likewise requested me to inform you, that it is his *demand* that the solicited Hottentots should be sent; and, in case of non-compliance, that you will appear in person to answer for your conduct. I am, &c.

(Signed) " M. J. ONKRUYDT."

" *To Mr. Ulbricht, Theopolis.*"

" In the late Mr. Ulbricht's memoranda, (says Mr. Barker,) of the 24th November, 1820, I find the following entry, on the receipt of the second of these letters :—

' To day I received a letter from Capt. Somerset, that

* Mr. Onkruydt was, at that time, district secretary, and one of the heemraden of Albany. A small part only of the official correspondence between Mr. Ulbricht and the Albany authorities is here given ; more will be found in the APPENDIX.

I must come to Graham's Town, to answer for my conduct, in not executing his order, which I, nevertheless, have executed, but the Hottentots remained behind without my knowledge, and I must bear the blame.'

"This entry was made but one month and ten days before his death, and the manner in which it was written proves his weak state of body at the time. He wrote a very neat hand, but this entry is made in an almost unintelligible handwriting.

"On the 28th December, 1820, (continues Mr. Barker,) I arrived at Theopolis, on a visit from Bethelsdorp, and found Mr. Ulbricht in the last stage of a consumption. After taking some refreshment, I repaired to the bedside of my dying brother; on a table by the side of which lay the letter above alluded to. He said to me, 'Look at that letter;' and as I took it into my hand, he exclaimed, '*Barker, that letter has done me more harm than all my long indisposition.*' The letter itself was then wet with his tears, which had fallen upon it, and it bore evident marks of having been more than once so bedewed.

"I cannot pass over the following facts, as closely connected with these remarks:—As early as February, 1820, Captain Somerset must have been fully aware of Mr. Ulbricht's state of health; for that officer, with his lady, and a party, spent some days at the institution in the beginning of that month, and Mr. U. was much with him during that visit. He complains (in his memoranda) of his *fatigue* in attending the party on a *fishing excursion.*

"On the 26th October, Mr. U. left home, and went a second time to Bathurst, to be near Dr. O'Flinn.

"On the 9th November, Captain Somerset was at

Bathurst, and on that occasion his lady laid the foundation of the new drostdy house.

"On the 13th November, Mr. U. returned home in a hopeless condition.

"On the 24th November, he received the above letter, summoning him to Graham's Town, to answer for his conduct.

"A certificate was written by Dr. O'Flinn, stating the inability of Mr. U. to proceed, according to the order of Captain Somerset; and he forwarded to him, also, a statement of his own of the reasons why he did not attend. In reply to the statement of Mr. Ulbricht, made by himself, and the certificate of Dr. O'Flinn, the following letter was received. It is to be regretted that no copy of Mr. Ulbricht's answer has been preserved.

'*Graham's Town, 26th Nov.* 1820.

'SIR,

'Your letter, addressed to Captain Somerset, the deputy landdrost, has been duly received, and he has handed it to me, to reply to it.

'Your letter was accompanied by *one*, and not *two*, Hottentots, as you stated in your letter. The landdrost has requested me to communicate to you, that we need, for the present, seven Hottentots, in behalf of government service, to be employed at the aqueduct, and that, without their assistance, the work cannot go forward, by which means government will suffer material injury. To conclude, Captain S. requests that you will immediately forward six more men; and, in case they might manifest any reluctance, send them bound. Captain S. further requested me to communicate to you, that it is his earnest request that you

will, without any hesitation, always comply with his orders, whenever he writes for some Hottentots, as they will always be employed in government service.

'I remain, your obedient Servant,

(*Signed*) 'M. J. Onkruydt,

'*To Mr. Ulbricht.*' 'Secretary.'

"On the 4th January, 1821, Mr. Ulbricht died.

"On the 18th January, 1821, I arrived at Theopolis. In the interim between the late Mr. Ulbricht's death and my coming to reside here, I found the annexed letter at the station, and the people in much confusion how to supply the demand.

'*Sunday*, 14*th Jan.* 1821.

'The bearer has permission to go to Theopolis, to return with six men; when those now here will be released.

(*Signed*) 'H. Somerset,

'Deputy Landdrost.'

"The requisitions on the station for men had been so great, that many had left it in consequence, and there were not efficient men enough to supply the demand. After much deliberation with the corporals, the names of those who had been longest free from supplying the government demands were forwarded to the deputy landdrost, stating where those men were to be found. In answer to which the following was received.

'*Friday*, 18*th Jan.* 1821.

'Sir,

'In acknowledging the receipt of your letter, I have to inform you, that none of the Hottentots you

mentioned are arrived*; I shall, therefore, be under the necessity of detaining those men mentioned until their arrival. I beg to say, that the Hottentots employed here are well paid, and ought to be released every month; but in consequence of the extreme irregular state of the institution at Theopolis, the men ordered to come here, to release their comrades, constantly refuse. I request, Sir, you will take some measures, to see that they attend to your orders.

'I am, &c.,

(*Signed*) 'H. SOMERSET,

'*To Mr. Barker.*' 'Deputy Landdrost.'

"To this letter the following reply was returned:—

'*Theopolis*, 20*th Jan.* 1821.

'SIR,

'I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours, dated the 18th; in answer to which I beg leave to state, that on my arrival here I found the people endeavouring to supply your requisition, difficult as it was; and I have used persuasive measures to induce the people to comply with your demand, and I believe they will do it. David Jantjes says he has undertaken a work at Bathurst; to do which, Mr. Bailey tells him, men will be commanded from the station, if he does not perform it, and he excuses himself this way. Some others state inability to perform the portion of work required of them; but there are no others who can be sent.

'As to the irregular state of the institution, it

* "It is stated that none of the men mentioned are arrived, yet one of the men mentioned in that letter delivered Captain Somerset's letter into my hands.—G. B."

strikes me this arises from too great a requisition on the station for men. There are now eight men at Graham's Town, six at Fort Wiltshire, and three at Bathurst*. I find orders for men from yourself and from Colonel Willshire; and am told that Captain Trappes also makes demands on the institution, but have not yet found any official letters from him on the subject. The Hottentots are thus no sooner returned from one place than they are demanded for another; and I doubt whether the one person acquaints the other with the demands he makes on the station for men.

'The adoption of measures for the performance of the orders of the missionary, (or rather the demands of the magistrate upon him,) I conceive is the sole prerogative of him who bears the staff of civil power in the district. A missionary is not invested with such power, either by the society which patronizes him or the government which makes the demands on him; at least I am in possession of no such instructions.

'I trust when my affairs are settled, (I have now the charge, in a measure, of the two stations, Bethelsdorp and this,) and I am established at Theopolis, I shall be able, with your assistance, to set the affairs of the station on a more regular footing; but your concurrence in the present state of things will be necessary.

'I have, &c.,

(Signed) 'G. Barker.'

'*To Captain Somerset.*'

* "At this time there were men, also, with Messrs. Hope and Petingal, government surveyors, and who are not mentioned in this letter, making a total of twenty-five men, absent from the institution and their families, and commanded to the government employ. —G. B."

" The district of Albany being at that time divided, the following letter was sent with the foregoing one.

'*Theopolis*, 20*th Jan.* 1821.

'SIR,

'I take the liberty of entreating you to inform me to which division of the district the institution of Theopolis belongs, whether Graham's Town or Bathurst; and who the missionary stationed here is to address, as its civil head, Captain Trappes or yourself.

'I have, &c.,

(Signed) 'G. BARKER.'

'*To Captain Somerset.*'

" To the above two letters the following answer was returned.

'*Graham's Town*, 22*nd Jan.* 1821.

'SIR,

'I am directed by the deputy landdrost to acquaint you that your attendance before him is wanted by Wednesday morning, in order to give you a verbal answer to your letters addressed to him.

'I am, &c.,

(Signed) 'M. J. ONKRUYDT.

'*To Mr. Barker, Theopolis.*' 'Secretary.'

" After riding the greater part of the night," says Mr. Barker, " to Graham's Town, the distance thirty-five miles, I attended at the landdrost's office, at nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 24th; was told by Mr. Onkruydt that Captain Somerset was not at home; at eleven o'clock attended again; not yet at home: at twelve o'clock attended the third time, and

was told that Captain S. would not be at home to-day. On leaving the town, and passing Captain Somerset's house, I asked the orderly in attendance (a Hottentot soldier) if Captain S. was at home, who replied, 'Yes, he has not been out, except for a morning's ride with his lady.' "GEORGE BARKER."

The case of William Bruintjes, a Hottentot of Bethelsdorp, compelled by the landdrost Cuyler to become a soldier, and to enter into the Cape corps, will afford another appropriate illustration of the spirit of the colonial functionaries. It was first brought under my notice by a letter from the Rev. J. Kitchingman, dated Feb. 11, 1822, of which the following is an extract:—

"I must here inform you of the case of a young man who has been in my service. His name is William Bruintjes; he was formerly in the service of Captain Andrews. His last master was Walter Bentinck, Esq., of the court of justice, with whom he has lived four years, and who had given him an excellent character, and a pass to come to this district, with a design to see his father, who is a member of this institution. On his arrival, he showed his pass to the landdrost, whom he requested to permit him to become a resident of this place, which was denied, but a pass was given him to remain any where else in the district. He came and wished me to engage him, which I promised to do, and was only waiting an opportunity to ride to the field-cornet for that purpose, when I received orders from the landdrost to inquire where he was, to which I replied that he was in my service. The next day I was

ordered to forward him, which accordingly was done. When he came to the landdrost's office, he was asked where he had been; to which he replied, that since his return from Graham's Town and Somerset, he had been in the service of Mr. Kitchingman. The landdrost's observation was, 'I enlist you for a soldier.' The lad then asked permission to fetch his clothes; to which the landdrost replied, 'No! — O'Donnell, give him his rations, and see that he does not go away.'

"I wrote to the landdrost, requesting him to accept a substitute, but no answer has been received. Wm. Bruintjes is a remarkably steady, industrious, and well-behaved young man; and I feel very much grieved at losing him in such a manner, especially as he has much aversion to being a soldier. If you are acquainted with Mr. Bentinck, I wish you would mention this circumstance, as William desired me to inform his old master of his case."

A more full and explicit account of this case was soon after laid before me, in the following letter from John Thomas, Esq., of the East India Company's civil service, a gentleman whose high character for talent, integrity, and benevolence is sufficiently well known, both at the Cape and in India, to give his testimony and opinions due weight on a subject like the present.*

* Mr. Thomas spent upwards of two years at the Cape, during a great part of which he resided with his family at Bethelsdorp and Uitenhage, and consequently knew the condition of this institution thoroughly. He is now in England, and has authorised me to add his testimony to the other respectable ones already given in support of the general statements I have brought forward.

"*Cape Town*, 22*d July*, 1822.

"My dear Sir,

"The case of Wm. Bruintjes having come immediately under my observation, I am enabled to state to you with certainty several facts relating to it; and in doing so, I hope that the statement will prove of some use, not only as demonstrating the nature of the hardships the Hottentots are doomed to suffer, without the means of redress, but I trust that, in his case, you will be able to devise some means of relieving him from his present situation.

"The man's account of himself, prior to the time when his case came under my notice, and which I believe to be substantially correct, is as follows:—That he was some time in the service of Mr. Bentinck, of the Cape, and that he only quitted that gentleman's employ in order to proceed into the interior to see his relatives. He has with him, I know, a good character from Mr. Bentinck, given to him at the time of quitting. After leaving the Cape, he went, I believe, to Graaff-Reinet and Somerset, and remained a few months at each place; then to Graham's Town, where he also remained some short time. From this last place he came to Uitenhage, and there requested permission from the landdrost to join himself to the institution at Bethelsdorp, where his relatives resided. This was denied to him, and he states that he was informed that he must find himself a master. After receiving this intimation, before he went to seek employ he came for a short time to visit his relatives, and remained a few days with them at Bethelsdorp.

"The further facts that I shall now detail concerning him, are those which came under my personal observa-

tion. After he had remained but a short time with his relations, our friend Mr. Kitchingman, being at that time in want of a servant, engaged William Bruintjes, and found him a most useful and respectable servant. He had remained with him about three weeks, when an order came from the landdrost, directing Mr. K. to send William to the drostdy. He accordingly sent him; and on his arrival there, after an inquiry as to where he had been residing, and after William had in answer informed him that he had been in Mr. Kitchingman's service at Bethelsdorp, he was told by the landdrost that he was enlisted as a soldier for the Cape regiment. Upon this he stated to the landdrost, (as he informed me, within half an hour of the occurrence,) that he was not willing to become a soldier; but no regard was paid to this, and the under-sheriff was directed to serve out to him rations. This was not all; for he was not only thus arbitrarily and unwillingly enlisted at a moment's notice, but he was positively forbidden to return to Bethelsdorp; and although he then made the request, he was not even allowed to return for one hour, to go and take leave of his relations, and collect together his clothes, &c.; and it was only by the favour of the sheriff that he was permitted to come to the house where I lodged in Uitenhage, to request me to allow a servant of mine to go and seek his horse, and also to place under my charge a saddle and bridle belonging to Mr. Kitchingman, which he had borrowed. He pressed me also, at the same time, to use some exertions to relieve him from the necessity of entering the army; but, after making inquiry, I found that the mode of enlistment pursued in the Hottentot corps was different from that in other of the king's corps. I was,

therefore, obliged to tell him that it was out of my power to assist him at that time, but that I would make known the harsh treatment he had been subjected to, and would endeavour to interest others in his favour. To fulfil this promise is my motive for laying these facts before you; and I hope that you will make known his case to his former master, which he much wished, and procure, if practicable, his discharge from the army, and leave for him to reside with his relations at Bethelsdorp.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "J. J. THOMAS."

After receiving these statements, I sent them to Mr. Bentinck, the former master of Bruintjes, and who was then one of the members of the court of justice, and auditor-general of the colony, with the following note:

"*Cape Town, 26th July,* 1822.

"SIR,

"At the request of the Rev. J. Kitchingman, I have taken the liberty of transmitting to you the inclosed papers respecting a Hottentot of the name of William Bruintjes, formerly in your service. The case of Bruintjes appears to be a very hard one.

"In the most arbitrary manner, he is refused by the landdrost permission to join the institution at Bethelsdorp. In answer to his application to the landdrost on this subject, he meets with a peremptory refusal, and is commanded to find a master. Denied access to the institution, he offers himself as a servant to Mr. Kitchingman, and, before Mr. Kitchingman could command leisure to go with him to the field-cornet, Bruintjes is commanded by the landdrost to appear at

Uitenhage, where he is violently seized by the landdrost, and enlisted into the Cape corps. It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks on the power exercised by the landdrost on this occasion, or on the manner in which the young man was treated when he expressed a wish to return to Bethelsdorp, to return Mr. Kitchingman's saddle and fetch his clothes. The facts speak for themselves, and require no commentary. The gentleman who writes the inclosed letter, addressed to me, is John Thomas, Esq., of the Madras civil service. Mr. Thomas was residing at Uitenhage at the time this transaction took place, and every part of the account of this business, furnished by him, corroborates the statement of Mr. Kitchingman. From what I know of your character, I am convinced that the bare representation given in the papers now communicated to you, is sufficient to interest you in the case of Bruintjes, and to plead my apology with you for the present interference.

"I have the honour, &c.

"JOHN PHILIP."

"P. S. When Bruintjes was denied access to the institution, and commanded to seek a master, I cannot conceive on what principle Mr. Kitchingman was disqualified for engaging him as a servant."

To this communication I received the following reply:—

"*Audit Office*, 30*th July*, 1822.

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst., with two inclosures. I am so situated, that I must refrain from entering into the

merits of the case, which you have communicated to me; but I would recommend to Mr. Kitchingman to present a memorial to his Excellency the governor, stating his grievances.

"I have the honour, &c.,

(*Signed*) "WALTER BENTINCK."

I next addressed the following note to the colonial secretary, with a copy of the preceding correspondence:—

"SIR, "*Cape Town*, 14*th Aug.*, 1822.

"Before making any representation of the case of William Bruintjes at the colonial office, from the letters of Mr. Kitchingman and Mr. Thomas on this subject, and the request of William Bruintjes himself, I considered it my duty, in the first instance, to lay the matter before Walter Bentinck, Esq. Mr. Bentinck having, on public grounds, declined any interference in this case, I beg leave to request you will have the goodness to embrace the first opportunity to lay it before his Excellency the governor.

"I have the honour, &c.

"JOHN PHILIP."

To this last communication no reply was ever received; and the effort thus made to gain the liberty of poor William Bruintjes proved altogether unavailing.

While these attacks were making upon the institution of Bethelsdorp, the people were greatly oppressed by compulsory services, forced upon them by the autho-

rity of the landdrost, for which they received no adequate compensation in the shape of wages. The following is a statement of the grievances of this nature which was laid before the colonial government, as communicated to me from this institution in 1821.

1. Twelve men were, last December, ordered from Bethelsdorp to Somerset Farm. At the time this demand was made, there were two men there of a former party. These men have been absent three months, and their families are in a state of starvation.

2. When the Hottentots are allowed to choose their own masters, they can earn, at Port Elizabeth and other places, one dollar and a half and two dollars per day, beside their food. For work which they are constrained to perform by the local authorities of the district, they are allowed barely two skillings (fivepence sterling) per day. Two or three skillings per day was the sum allowed the Hottentots by government, when the price of labour in general was low, and the necessaries of life at less than one-third of their present price.

3. A water-fiscal has lately been appointed at Uitenhage. This man, who is a boor, has contracted with the local authorities of the place to keep the water-channels of the drostdy clear, for a specific sum of money. To enable this water-fiscal to live upon his contract, Hottentots are commanded from Bethelsdorp to serve him at two or three skillings per day. This man, in addition to what he compels the Hottentots to do for him in the line of his trade, has lately built the walls of a substantial and commodious house for himself, at which the poor Hottentots were compelled to work on the same low wages that they are com-

pelled to serve him for, in his official character as a water-fiscal.

4. In the end of February, there were four men from Bethelsdorp, who were compelled to serve as constables. One of these men, labouring under a pulmonary complaint, and unable longer to work, after having served the local authorities of the district on terms on which he could make no provision against future casualties, is discharged and abandoned, and must either starve or become a burden on the institution.

5. At the time this statement was drawn up, there were seven boys belonging to Bethelsdorp employed in the service of the post-office. This is a very heavy oppression upon Bethelsdorp; more than half the missionary's time is taken up with secular business belonging to the local authorities of the district, for which no indemnification is made, while he is continually pestered with messages, which he is obliged to find people to carry to the different places to which they are addressed. The poor Hottentots, who are compelled to bear those messages, are often occupied a whole day with them, and for which they have neither food nor wages allowed.

Bethelsdorp is the only institution which suffers from this cause; this kind of oppression is confined to Bethelsdorp. Seidenfaden, at Caledon institution, has six hundred dollars a-year, as post-master, and he has not half the trouble that the missionary at Bethelsdorp is obliged to take, without remuneration.

6. During the late Caffer war, above seventy men were more than six months from their homes, without receiving one farthing of wages; the greater part of these

men were all this time employed about Uitenhage; and while they were doing duty as soldiers, watching by night, and digging by day, their families were starving at the institution. During this period they were forced to contract debts with the farmers, which still keeps them in misery and bondage.

8. About eighteen months ago, twenty-four of the finest young men in the institution were forced to enter into the Cape corps.

These facts are not stated for the purpose of obtaining remuneration for the past, but in hopes that the sufferings of the people will obtain some mitigation. If the Hottentots must be soldiers, let the different institutions be called upon to furnish their respective proportions, that the burden may not wholly fall upon one or two institutions; and if fathers are called from home in the service of government, reason and humanity say, that the poor families should have something allowed them. But whatever may be said in defence of this system, so far as it regards the army, no reason can be assigned why the poor Hottentots at those institutions should be liable to be called upon by any local authority in the country to serve *himself* or his friends at two or three skillings a day, when they can earn almost as many dollars, when allowed to hire themselves to masters with whom they can enter into mutual agreements.

In February last, one Hottentot in the possession of three waggons, earned in ten days by them two hundred and seventy rix-dollars. It is a hard case that such a man should be taken from his family and compelled to work for two skillings a day, while his waggon and his oxen are unemployed.

One individual at Bethelsdorp, who has a waggon and oxen, was lately compelled to drive the waggon of a boor to Graham Town. Had he had his own waggon with him he would have received for this journey seventy-six rix-dollars, whilst all he received for this compulsory service was seven rix-dollars.

The condition of the Hottentots among the farmers is agreeable in comparison of their situation in the hands of the local authorities. While a Hottentot is serving a farmer, his wife and children are fed; but while they are engaged in this compulsory service, their poor miserable families are thrown entirely destitute.

9. Colonel Cuyler applied some time ago for some additional Hottentots to labour on his farms. The missionary could not send him as many as he wanted. But none can join the institution without permission from the landdrost. Shortly after the colonel met with this disappointment, some Hottentots applied for permission to go to reside at the institution. The application was refused. When the missionary, Barker, requested to be informed of the colonel's reason for this arbitrary conduct, he was told that no more should be allowed to join the institution till they appeared to be better taught in it.

Immediately before the departure of Sir Rufane Donkin, the acting governor, from Cape Town, on his last journey into the interior, his attention was called to the state of Bethelsdorp, and the substance of the above complaints was put into his hands, to assist him in his inquiries. A few days after his arrival at Uitenhage, he visited Bethelsdorp, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler, when the missionaries were called upon to produce their evidence in support of

the complaints contained in the list of grievances presented to the acting governor. Sir Rufane Donkin (whose intentions, doubtless, were always good, and to whom I still feel grateful for the kindness he always showed to the missionaries, and the personal attentions which I always received from him) was not satisfied with the proofs adduced by the missionaries in support of their complaints ; and his decision, on this occasion, did not give the satisfaction which could have been wished. This unexpected and painful result obliged me to take a journey to Bethelsdorp. In the first instance, I waited on Colonel Cuyler, to endeavour to heal the breach ; but, finding he refused to see me, I found it necessary to search for other proofs than those which had been adduced in support of the charges which had been represented as affording evidence of *conspiracy* against that magistrate ; and I found all that I wanted in the Mission Office of the institution, in the handwriting of the landdrost himself. As the mass of writing discovered on this occasion, from which my proofs are taken, was too great to be embodied in one document, I confined my selection chiefly to the years 1820 and 1821. The article thus furnished, containing a statement of great oppressions, as established by the autograph of the accused himself, was transmitted to the colonial-office ; but it procured for us no relaxation of the system, and it lay there undisturbed till it was called for by his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry*.

* See Appendix—" Statement of the Hardships to which the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp are exposed," &c.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL LIBRARY

CHAPTER XVI.

Plan of removing the Institution of Bethelsdorp.—Cause of its abandonment.—Purchase of a place on the Chamtoos River.—Wood Case.—Game Case.—Visit of the Commissioners of Inquiry at Bethelsdorp.—Application to Government for additional Lands.—Its rejection, and attempt to curtail the boundaries o. the Institution.—Appea tol Earl Bathurst, and his decision.—Attempt to make the Missionaries responsible for the taxes of the Hottentots.

In the preceding pages of this work, enough has been said to show the unfitness of the site of Bethelsdorp for a missionary institution, and to vindicate the character of Dr. Vanderkemp against the abuse with which his memory has been loaded, in relation to the situation of the place. It is evident, from Vanderkemp's own statements, that he had no election in this case ; that he saw the disadvantages of the situation ; and that he accepted it merely as a temporary accommodation for himself and the people with him, till a more suitable place, which had been promised to him by the colonial government, should be pointed out to him. He always continued to regret that the institution had been placed in a situation which presented so few favourable circumstances to facilitate the improvement of the people ; and continued, to the latter period of his life, to urge upon the colonial government the obligations it was under to furnish a more suitable place for the institution.

On the arrival of the deputations of the London

Missionary Society, the disadvantages of the place induced them, with the advice of the government and local authorities of the district, to resolve on disposing of the ground and buildings by sale, and purchasing another place which was recommended to them.

The place proposed, as eligible to form an institution, was in a remote part of the country, inclosed by a range of lofty mountains; but, having an abundance of water, it had this advantage over Bethelsdorp, that it would furnish the Hottentots with the means of raising corn. On visiting Bethelsdorp, in 1821, I intended to purchase the above place, and to see the people removed to it. On my arrival at Uitenhage, I found the colonists expressing more satisfaction at the proposed removal of the institution than I considered consistent with the loss they would sustain, in being deprived of so many useful labourers in the district; and the surprise excited in my mind by this circumstance led to inquiries which obliged me to change my plans. The joy expressed on this occasion appears to have arisen from an impression, that I was to be allowed to sell the place; to remove the institution; and to take with us the sick, and aged, and infirm people; but that the great body of them were to be detained in the district, and not to be permitted to accompany us. Whether such a plan was deliberately formed by the local authorities of the district, or whether it was communicated to the colonial government, I cannot say; but the opinion was so general, and the patronage which the landdrost would have gained by it was so great, as to give it an air of plausibility; and the consequences which would have arisen from its execution were of such a character, that

it would have been madness, under these circumstances, to have hesitated a moment as to the only safe course left me to pursue.

The plan of removing the place being abandoned, my anxiety now was, to procure if possible additional lands, to supply the deficiencies of Bethelsdorp, and provide for an increasing population. The farm of Mr. Korsten, on the Chamtoos river, was then for sale, and between five and six thousand rix-dollars were instantly subscribed by the people, to assist in paying the purchase-money. The first instalment was to be paid in March, 1822; and Mr. Korsten, who had always been friendly to the institution, in order to assist them in a time of general and great scarcity in the colony, and to enable them to meet the first payment of the farm, in March, gave them an order for a large quantity of cask-staves, which he required for his whale and seal fishery at Algoa-bay, amounting in value to seven thousand five hundred rix-dollars. On the 1st of February, as the people were preparing to fulfil their contract to Mr. Korsten, an order was sent to Bethelsdorp from the landdrost, prohibiting them from cutting timber, excepting in one place, where there was none of the wood they had agreed to deliver to Mr. Korsten to be found.

On receiving this communication, I wrote to Mr. Korsten, proposing to him a few questions, to which he was so good as to furnish the following reply, by return of post, dated Feb. 8, 1822:—

"I contracted, a few weeks previous to my departure from Algoa-bay, with some of the members of the institution of Bethelsdorp, (whose industry and honesty I had, during eight or nine years in

which I had employed them, always experienced,) for the delivery of good ash staves, for my whale and seal fisheries, at the rate of twelve stivers per stave, amounting together to a sum of seven thousand five hundred rix-dollars, to be paid partly by flour and rice, and partly in money. This was done, not so much in hopes of deriving any benefit from the bargain, since I might have provided myself from other quarters fully as cheap, as to assist them in getting some support for their families; for they were complaining that they were almost starving, on account of the failure of their harvest; and also to enable them to pay the purchase-money of the farm of the Chamtoos river, which you bought from me on their account. To the question, where this timber is to be had, I beg to say, that none of those trees are to be found in Landman's-bush, (the name of the place where they are still permitted to cut wood,) but that the staves which I contracted for with them must be cut in the immense forest of Zitze-Kamma, distant upwards of an hundred miles from Algoa-bay; and out of which forest I have been provided, for many years, to the amount of many thousand staves, by the same Hottentots and farmers, without ever having heard that, on the part of government or the landdrost, any obstacle has been thrown in the way to prevent it."

After a correspondence of eight months with the colonial government, the landdrost was ordered to allow the Hottentots, as formerly, to cut wood in the prohibited forests; but by the time this victory had been gained, the people had suffered all the evils arising from this arbitrary interference; they had lost their contract, and were unable to pay the first instalment

for the farm; many of them had also been thrown out of employment in a season of great scarcity, and obliged to suffer many privations: but though they had suffered so much, no remuneration was ordered them by this decision, and many of them had by this time turned their attention to other means of subsistence. It may also be added, that so little regard was paid to the directions of the colonial government, on this subject, by the landdrost, that they remained for many months afterwards little better than a dead letter to those who wished to avail themselves of the indulgence.

The next illustration I shall adduce is the Game Case of the Kooga, which will afford an appropriate specimen both of the mode in which malicious accusations against the Hottentots of our institutions are too frequently investigated by the provincial magistracy, and also of the spirit in which such inquiries are too often reported upon in official communications to government.

During the progress of the recent improvements at Bethelsdorp, a quantity of thatch was wanted for the roofs of several new buildings; and materials fit for the purpose not being to be had in the immediate vicinity, Mr. Kitchingman sent a party of six Hottentots to the Kooga River, about thirty miles distant, for the purpose of cutting rushes on the lands of a farmer named Vermaak, from whom he had previously obtained permission. The spot to which this party were sent is surrounded on all sides by immense forests of brushwood and jungle, frequented by elephants, buffaloes, tigers, hyænas, and other wild animals; and the men having to lie in the open fields, at a distance from any inhabited place, it was requisite for them to take

fire-arms for their personal defence; but that they might not waste their time in shooting game, (the Hottentots, like the other inhabitants, being generally fond of hunting,) they were not supplied with any ammunition by the missionaries, excepting four shots of gunpowder presented to them by Mr. Read on their departure. This was in the month of May, 1822.

After this party had been absent some weeks on this business, one of them returned to inform the missionaries that they had been deprived of their guns by a party of boors sent to disarm them by order of Colonel Cuyler. Upon this Mr. Kitchingman wrote to Colonel Cuyler, respectfully requesting to be informed of the cause why the guns of the Hottentots had been seized. In reply, the landdrost stated that several outrageous acts of killing cattle had recently occurred in the vicinity of the Kooga, and that a report having also reached him of a horse having been wounded in that neighbourhood, he had sent a field-cornet to seize the guns of any Hottentots he might find there. He added, that when he had leisure, he would make further inquiry into the case, and in the meanwhile requested Mr. K. to inform him of the quantity of ammunition with which he had supplied the party, and how much they still had in their possession.

Mr. Kitchingman stated in his answer that he had not furnished the Hottentots with any ammunition, (not being then aware of the four shots they had received from Mr. Read,) and that he believed the quantity in their possession, when they left Bethelsdorp, must have been very trifling. He expressed, at the same time, his regret that they had been deprived of their fire-arms, as it did not appear that there had been anything

in their conduct to warrant such a mode of procedure; adding, that from the quantity of thatch which had been cut, it was pretty evident that the people had been working and not spending their time in idleness, as had been reported to the landdrost. The magistrate's brief reply to this remonstrance was an intimation, through the district secretary, that he would investigate the affair on a certain day, with a summons for Mr. Kitchingman to attend with the whole of the party at his office for that purpose.

Upon the appearance of the party before the landdrost at Uitenhage, Mr. Kitchingman corrected his former statement respecting the ammunition of the Hottentots, by mentioning that he had since ascertained that they had been supplied with four shots by Mr. Read. The Hottentots were then examined and cross-examined by Colonel Cuyler; and upon this investigation a report was drawn up by him and forwarded to the government at Cape Town.

Proceedings of this kind were so common at Bethelsdorp, that I had received no intelligence of this particular case, when I was summoned to the colonial office to hear the result of the investigation. Having had the subject explained to me, the colonial secretary remarked, that it was evident from this and other cases of daily occurrence, that the magistrates of the districts of the colony had much to bear from our missionaries, and had much trouble with the people of our institutions. Holding up Colonel Cuyler's communication in his hand, he said, "It is not our intention to institute severe proceedings against the missionaries in this case; but your candour must allow, from the facts contained in the statement, that we have *provocation;* and that

we have grounds enough to justify us, were we to make an example of some of the parties concerned. While, however, his Excellency is willing to pass over the present offence, he hopes and expects that you will caution the missionaries against taking part with the Hottentots against the local authorities, as they have evidently done in this case." At the same time I was reminded, that it appeared evident from the inquiry that the missionaries on the trial had been convicted of falsehood with respect to the gunpowder given to Klaas Klaas, (the leader of the party of thatch-cutters,) by the evidence of Klaas himself. For Mr. Kitchingman had affirmed that they had not received more than four shots from the missionaries, whereas it appeared in evidence, that Klaas had received *a pound* of powder from Mr. Read.

This case appeared to the colonial government so very strong, that, contrary to their former practice, a copy of it was granted to me at my request. This was immediately transmitted to Bethelsdorp; and the sequel will show what ground the government had for the confidence they had placed in the impartiality and veracity of the functionary who had ventured, on the strength of it, to institute a complaint against the missionaries.

This curious document is entitled an "Inquiry made by Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler," &c., &c. The landdrost not apprehending that the missionaries would have his "Inquiry" put into their hands, had drawn it up, it is presumed, in the usual style in which he was accustomed to write communications of this kind; and the result showed how necessary it is, for the ends of substantial justice, and for the interests of

a community, that parties on both sides of a question should obtain a candid hearing. It appeared on scrutinizing the "Inquiry," that the landdrost had taken down but a small part of the evidence given on that occasion; that he had selected those parts of it only which served the purpose he had in view—the crimination of the missionaries and the Hottentots;—that some of his questions were indirectly intended to ensnare the parties before him, by attempting to draw from them such answers as he could twist to his purpose; and that, by confounding times and places, and by mixing up occurrences which had taken place at different periods, and making it appear as if they related to one event,—he had succeeded in this instance in lodging upon the minds of the heads of the colonial government, a firm conviction that the Hottentots merited punishment, and that the missionaries had been guilty of a shameful dereliction of principle in attempting to screen them. Having fully ascertained that this was the true state of the case, I addressed the following letter to the colonial secretary, on the 8th of August, 1822:—

"When Colonel Cuyler's inquiry respecting the killing of game was read to me in the Colonial Office, I declined giving any opinion on the subject till I should hear Mr. Kitchingman's account of the business. Having obtained the information requested, I beg leave to submit the inclosed correspondence*, with the remarks which follow, to the consideration of his Excellency the governor.

* The correspondence between Colonel Cuyler and Mr. Kitchingman, already referred to.

"In making a few remarks on this business, I shall begin with Colonel Cuyler's communication to the Colonial Office, dated 10th June. This paper is entitled an 'Inquiry made by Lieutenant-Colonel Cuyler in a case of several guns having been taken from Hottentots belonging to the institution at Bethelsdorp, in the field-cornetcy of Kooga.' In Colonel Cuyler's letter of 5th June, it appears, that the guns of the Hottentots were seized on suspicion of their having killed some cattle, and wounded a horse; and in a letter, dated 8th June, from the secretary of the district of Uitenhage, addressed to Mr. Kitchingman, that missionary, with the accused Hottentots, is requested to attend on the 10th of June at Uitenhage, to be examined on these charges. On Mr. Kitchingman's appearance at Uitenhage on the 10th, not a single question is asked him respecting the charges against the Hottentots on which he was summoned; not a syllable is said in the landdrost's inquiry about the slaughtered cattle and the wounded horse, the ostensible reasons for which the Hottentots were deprived of their guns, and for which they were now called to Uitenhage. The original charge, and that on which they were called to appear before the landdrost, is entirely abandoned; the question of killing cattle and wounding a horse is altogether laid aside, and a new question of destroying game substituted.

"Finding the original charge wholly untenable, and without the smallest foundation, the landdrost wanted a defence for his own conduct, in the manner in which he had treated the Hottentots in this instance; and the inquiry in which the business ended seems to have been an expedient to which he had recourse for this purpose.

"There is something in the very commencement of this inquiry which his Excellency will not fail to remark, and which requires no comment. In Mr. Kitchingman's letter, dated 5th June, he says,—'the Hottentots received no ammunition from me; and, from all I can learn, the quantity in their possession when they left this place must have been very trifling indeed.' But, being interrogated on the 10th, before the landdrost, whether he knew where the Hottentots had been provided with gunpowder, he is said to have stated, on information obtained since his letter dated the 5th, that he had been told the corporal Klaas Klaas got four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp.

"The examination of Mr. Kitchingman is followed by the examination of the corporal Klaas Klaas. The landdrost having asked this man where and what quantity of powder he got, Klaas states that he got a pound of powder from Mr. Read, when he was sent with some oxen to lie on the road towards Graaff-Reinet, to meet the waggons of Mr. Read going to the Briquas. The design of this statement is too obvious to require any remark. I cannot conceive any object the landdrost could have in bringing Mr. Kitchingman's statement, and the corporal Klaas's statement, forward in this way, if he did not mean to connect the two circumstances together. Mr. Kitchingman states, in his letter of the 7th June, that the Hottentots who were employed on this occasion to cut thatch on Mr. Vermaak's ground received no ammunition; and, at Uitenhage, on the 10th, he admits he had been told that the corporal Klaas Klaas got four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp. Immediately after Mr.

Kitchingman has emitted his declaration, that he was told that the corporal Klaas Klaas had received four shots of powder from Mr. Read, at Bethelsdorp, Col. Cuyler instantly turns to the corporal Klaas Klaas, and asks him, where and what quantity of powder he got. In reply to this question Klaas states, that he got a pound of powder from Mr. Read.

"On hearing the landdrost's inquiry read in the Colonial Office, and afterwards reading it over at my own desk, I was very much shocked at an apparent attempt, on the part of Mr. Read, to lessen the quantity of powder he had given to Klaas, and at the opposition of testimony which appeared to be between them; for it is impossible for any one to read the declaration of Mr. Kitchingman, in which he states the quantity to be four shots, and to read the *where* and the *what* of the landdrost, which immediately follows, with Klaas's answer, and not feel persuaded that it was the intention of the landdrost it should be believed that the two circumstances of the four shots and the pound of powder were connected; and not to feel, at the same time, that Kitchingman and Read must suffer in their reputation by the evidence of Klaas Klaas, who appears to have swelled the four shots of Mr. Kitchingman into a pound. Notwithstanding what is added about the oxen and the Briquas, which was evidently never intended to be noticed, I never for a moment dreamed but that the four shots and the pound of powder referred to the same thing, till I received Mr. Kitchingman's letter, dated 22d July, when I was certainly not a little surprised to find that this pound of powder, so artfully connected with the four shots, was given to Klaas Klaas *above six years ago!* The landdrost ap-

pears to have felt that this subject would not bear handling, and our attention is suddenly called from the powder to the hair of a grysbock, which we are left to infer, from the way in which it is brought in, was shot with part of this pound of powder. Enough has been said on the subject of this extraordinary inquiry. From this sample, his Excellency will see what credit is to be attached to Colonel Cuyler's complaints against the Hottentots, and to the reasons he has employed to justify his conduct towards them.

"The shooting of buffaloes does not appear to be prohibited in the proclamation of the 23d March; and the Hottentots declare that the game, which occupied the attention of the landdrost in this inquiry, was killed before the publication of the proclamation. The only part of the above proclamation in which the landdrost can be justified in taking the guns from the Hottentots on this occasion, is article 10th; and it does not appear, when their guns were seized, that they had either powder or lead of any description about them.

"It is also obvious to remark, in the communication forwarded to government by Colonel Cuyler, purporting to be a *bonâ fide* statement of evidence declared before him, in his capacity of magistrate, that but one question is mentioned as having been put to Mr. Kitchingman, and answered by him. It will, perhaps, occasion not a little surprise, when his Excellency is made acquainted with the fact, that other questions were put to Mr. Kitchingman, which we do not find in the proceedings forwarded to government. In proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to refer to the following quotation from Mr. Kitchingman's letter, dated 22d July:—'I am surprised to perceive,' he says,

(referring to the Inquiry, a copy of which was forwarded to him,) 'that nothing is mentioned respecting the questions proposed to me when called to appear in court, except about the gunpowder. I cannot help inquiring whether, under these circumstances, I am not justified in considering the account of this inquiry sent to the Colonial Office as a garbled statement?'

"Here I need scarcely remark, to those acquainted with the laws of evidence, that if a magistrate have the means of furnishing garbled statements of the inquiries held before him, he has the power of representing the character and conduct of the persons examined by him in any light that suits his purposes. If Colonel Cuyler's conduct appears to you, on this occasion, in the same light in which it appears to me, you will not only see his conduct, as it respects the powder, as inconsistent with the dignity and purity of a magistrate, but also as an attempt to impose upon the colonial government.

"So long as I occupy the station I fill, I hope I shall ever inculcate upon the Hottentots obedience to all lawful authority, and to every colonial regulation; but I should be unfaithful to the trust committed to me, and to the duties I owe to God, were I to do less than I now do in the case of Colonel Cuyler. While his Excellency feels it his duty to support every magistrate in the exercise of his duty, I am convinced that he will feel, also, that he has a duty of no less importance to discharge, when magistrates become the oppressors of a people whom it is their duty to protect."

In pursuance of our present design, we shall here introduce another specimen of hostility aimed against

the very existence of our principal missionary establishment in South Africa.

In 1823 the missionaries and the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp were highly gratified by the visit of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry to that station. This event had been long looked forward to as one likely to produce a new era in the history of the Hottentots, and it is to be hoped that our expectations will not be disappointed by the ultimate results. The open and generous manner in which they declared the satisfaction their inquiries into the state of the Hottentots, at this missionary station, had afforded them, will be long remembered by the missionaries, the people themselves, and the strangers present on this interesting occasion, and did as much credit to the Commissioners themselves as it did to the labours of the missionaries. During the previous intercourse I had had with his Majesty's commissioners, while on their journey into the interior, among other things suggested for the improvement of the country, was the formation of several new missionary stations in different parts. In proposing a number of institutions scattered over the country, in preference to a few very large ones situated at remote distances from each other, I had the comfort of the colonists at present at a great distance from the missionary stations in view *, and for that reason I thought I had a right to calcu-

* As an undoubted example of the prevalence of similar sentiments throughout the colony, I may notice, that when the estate of the late Lieut.-Colonel Fraser was advertised for sale, in the Cape Gazette, by his principal executor, Colonel Cuyler, its vicinity to the missionary station of Theopolis was stated as one of the peculiar advantages of the place.

late upon the concurrence of the colonial government to aid us in carrying such a measure into effect. From the attempts which had been made to prejudice the minds of the commissioners against our missions, before their departure from Cape Town, and from the nature of their commission itself, I had no room to expect that they would speak decidedly upon the important points submitted to their consideration, till they should have finished their inquiries at our missionary stations; and the following letter, addressed to Mr. Kitchingman, after their visit to Bethelsdorp, shows that they had not then lost the favourable impressions made upon their minds on that occasion, nor forgotten the suggestions to which they had previously listened respecting the future conveniency of the farmers, and the improvement of the Hottentots.

"*Uitenhage*, 1*st Jan.*, 1824.

"Dear Sir,

"As we are very desirous of knowing whether any augmentation of land can be made with advantage, to the portion now occupied by the institution of Bethelsdorp, more especially as we anticipate a considerable augmentation of their numbers when the present restrictions on their admission are removed, we shall be very glad to receive from you any information respecting contiguous and vacant allotments, that you or the Hottentots may think desirable. I am induced to make this suggestion more from a wish to complete the accommodation of the present members, and to improve their condition by the accession of good or convenient pieces of land, than to advise the accumulation of great numbers of Hottentots on the same spot, agreeing, as

I do, with Dr. Philip, that, generally, it will be found to be more advantageous to multiply the number of institutions in the country, than to multiply the number of Hottentots in each place.

"I beg to offer, &c. &c.

(Signed) "J. T. BIGGE."

"*The Rev. James Kitchingman.*"

In consequence of this communication I visited, in company with the missionaries residing at Bethelsdorp, two pieces of unoccupied land, which were pointed out to us by our Hottentot guides, and having satisfied myself that they were at the disposal of government, and that the situations were favourable for all the purposes contemplated in the plan which had been approved by his Majesty's commissioners, a memorial upon the subject, signed by Mr. Kitchingman, the head missionary at Bethelsdorp, was addressed to his Excellency the governor. In addition to the two places intended for small institutions, the prayer of the memorial embraced some grounds not included in the diagram of Bethelsdorp, lying between the lands of the institution and some of the neighbouring farms, and which had been always considered as belonging to the institution, though not within the original diagram. The reason given for requesting a right to the small portions of land in question, was the injury which the institution would sustain should they, on any future occasion, be separated from it. The first notice taken of this memorial by his Excellency the governor was in a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Cuyler, dated 26th April, 1824, requesting particular information respecting the two separate places, and the lands connected with Bethels-

dorp, craved in the memorial. Nothing further was heard of the application till the 21st May, when Mr. Kitchingman received a letter from the colonial office, intimating that the two unoccupied places requested in the memorial could not be granted; and on the 9th of June Mr. Kitchingman received another letter, informing him that Bethelsdorp was to be deprived of all the lands connected with the missionary institution not included in the diagram, and that they were to be given to the neighbouring farmers.

Saying nothing of the character of his lordship's decision in this case, in relation to the interesting population at Bethelsdorp, and the contempt it showed of public opinion, or the want of courtesy (to say the least of it) which it manifested to his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, it carried in it such an air of defiance to the British government, by the manner in which the recommendations of his Majesty's commissioners were, in this instance, treated, that I flattered myself, when his lordship came to reflect coolly upon the matter, he would be sorry for what he had done; and for that reason I resolved, before I took any other step, to try what effect time and expostulation would have upon his mind. Had I wished to take advantage of his lordship, I would have instantly appealed to Earl Bathurst, because the letter of his Majesty's Commissioners of the 1st of January was in my possession. I knew in what light the subject would be viewed in the colonial office in Downing-street; but as I had no unfriendly feelings towards his lordship, I wished to give him an opportunity of retracing his steps, should he feel so inclined; and, under the influence of that principle, instantly on receiving the communication in question, I waited on

the gentleman who was then one of his Excellency's chief advisers, and I found him preparing to accompany his Excellency next day on a shooting excursion. I had hoped that a reconsideration of the subject, during his Excellency's retirement in the country, particularly as his temporary residence was to be in the neighbourhood of the Moravian missionary station of Groene Kloof, where he might every day have the poor Hottentots belonging to that institution under his eye; together with the influence of his adviser, who professed to me to see the subject in the same light that I did, and who, it appeared, had not been consulted in the measure now deprecated, would operate a change upon his lordship's mind in favour of the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp; but that nothing might be omitted on my part to gain an object so desirable, I wrote a letter to his lordship on the subject, which will be found in the Appendix.

After waiting fifteen days without having received any answer to the above letter, I drew up a memorial to Earl Bathurst, which was submitted to his lordship, accompanied with all the documents required to establish the superior claims of the institution to the lands prayed for in the memorial, and to furnish his lordship with the means of clearly comprehending the case.

After the matter had proceeded so far, the results could not for a moment remain doubtful. In the communications of his Majesty's principal secretary of state to the colonial government, it does not appear that any notice was taken of the application made for the two places on which we proposed beginning two new institutions with a view chiefly to relieve Bethelsdorp, and to benefit the farmers in the immediate neighbour-

hood of the new stations; but the orders were peremptory, that the lands attempted to be alienated from the institution should be granted to it in perpetuity, and included within its diagram.

Among other attempts lately made, which discover the feelings of the colonial government then existing against our missions, we cannot omit noticing one of a singular character made in 1825, to compel the missionary at Bethelsdorp to collect the opgaaf tax paid by the people belonging to this institution. Mr. Kitchingman was at this time called upon to make out "name-lists" of all the Hottentots liable to pay this tax; to issue notices requiring such as were residing among the farmers to attend and pay the same; to collect the tax himself; to appear before the landdrost of Uitenhage in person, with all the people; to bring with him those documents the landdrost deemed necessary; and in addition to all this, he was called upon to pay, out of his own pocket, the tax for absentees and defaulters.

Mr. Kitchingman, in his correspondence with the colonial government, in objecting to the plan attempted to be forced upon him in this instance, stated, that in addition to the other burdens of a secular nature which had been already imposed upon him, he could not afford the time that this new office would require; that it was a service which the field-cornets and other local authorities of the district had never been called upon to perform, they never having been called upon to collect the taxes of the colonists; that when the boors were absent on the days appointed for them to pay their opgaaf, the inferior magistrates of the district in which the absentees resided were not made responsible

for their appearance, nor compelled to make up the deficiency in the taxes occasioned by their absence; that he had no magisterial authority to compel the attendance of the people, or to oblige them to repay to him what he might pay out for them; that a great proportion of the Hottentots belonging to Bethelsdorp were in the service of the boors, widely scattered over a thinly-peopled country; that circumstances might frequently occur to induce their masters to prevent their attendance on the day appointed on which the taxes were to be paid; and that if nothing else interfered to prevent their attendance, they might be kept back on account of the master not being able to pay their wages.

In reply, Mr. Kitchingman received an official communication, dated 26th February, 1825, taking no notice of his objections, and briefly requiring him to attend at the Court-house at Uitenhage, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, from nine o'clock in the morning, that the local magistrate might receive from himself, in person, the opgaaf of the people composing the establishment at Bethelsdorp. That Mr. Kitchingman might be under no mistake as to the extent of the services required of him, the clause in the latter part of the preceding sentences, in which it is intimated that the object of his being required to appear himself in person, was that the landdrost and heemraaden might receive from himself the opgaaf of the people, is further explained in the following sentence:—

"I am also desired to acquaint you by the landdrost and heemraaden, that *you will not only* be prepared, on the days fixed, with the opgaaf, *but also to pay*

for the people, which mode will strongly operate against all the difficulties experienced at the last opgaaf!" In Mr. Kitchingman's reply to this communication, 1st March, he recapitulates some of the objections urged in the former part of his correspondence, and having appealed to his Excellency the Governor, requests that the matter should not be further pressed till his Excellency's decision on the subject should be received.

On the 9th of March Mr. Kitchingman received another letter on the subject from the landdrost, stating that, as the governor had given no decision on the point in question, his compliance with the regulations previously laid down to him was expected.

From the middle of January down to the middle of March, during the time this correspondence was going on, Mr. Kitchingman and Mr. Read had been wholly occupied in preparing the "name lists" required by the landdrost; and it appears from the correspondence between them and the landdrost on this subject, as if the sole object had been, in imposing this task upon them, to annoy and weary them out. No man could have been more willing than Mr. Kitchingman had shown himself to be, to oblige the government and the local authorities in any way within the limits of his power; but the thing required of him, in this present instance, was impracticable; and should it still continue to be pressed upon him, he had no alternative left but to resign his situation.

This was not like the contests described by Barrow between the boors and the Hottentots; it was a contest in which we had opposed to us the whole power of the colonial government; and had this attempt succeeded, had the missionary, in addition to the other burdens

imposed by the new regulations, been compelled to pay the taxes of the Hottentots, our principal missionary station in South Africa could have been no longer maintained, and the people must have again fallen into the hands of the local authorities of the district, and their condition in that case would have been worse than if they had never enjoyed the privileges of a missionary station. "There is no tyranny so cruel, (says Montesquieu,) as that which is exercised under the pretext of law, and under the colour of justice; when wretches are, so to speak, drowned on the very plank to which they had clung for safety."

While things were in this state, and while it appeared to be the intention of the colonial government to push Mr. Kitchingman on the only alternative now left him, namely, that of resigning his situation at Bethelsdorp, I wrote to him, at his own request, a letter, giving him my opinion on the subject, of which the following is a copy:

"*Cape Town*, 17*th March*, 1825.

"My Dear Sir,

"I am sorry to find, by a letter now before me, that you have not yet received any written communication from Sir R. Plasket, respecting the affair of the opgaaf, and that Colonel Cuyler has demanded of you 'Whether you will comply with this requisition.' Taking it for granted that you have not yet complied with the landdrost's request; in addition to the reasons which you have already urged for declining it, and which are, in my opinion, perfectly satisfactory, I beg leave to suggest the following:—

"1st. The object of a missionary is to instruct the

people, and to promote their moral and spiritual culture; and it is his duty to attend to whatever has a direct or indirect tendency to promote these ends. The same principle which binds a missionary to attend to what may promote the great object of his labours, makes it an imperious duty upon him to avoid whatever has a contrary tendency; and it requires very little consideration to discover that the present proposal is fraught with this objectionable tendency. The people will come to the missionary on the day of payment with their excuses; they will tell him that they cannot pay their opgaaf; they will probably make out a long and a distressing case, and they will expect that the missionary should either advance the money as a loan, or make an apology for them. He can do neither; and he has not only the pain arising from the necessity he is under to deny this request, but he is obliged to turn informer against them, and to send a list of their names to the landdrost. To suppose that such occurrences have not a tendency to defeat the end of a missionary's labours, by injuring his character in the estimation of the people, is to contradict universal experience, and to betray an entire ignorance of human nature. By devolving such concerns into the hands of a missionary, he becomes a kind of political agent; he is viewed at first with suspicion, and he may ultimately be considered as a tool of government, and an instrument of oppression. The government must have excise-men and tax-gatherers; but we know that, even among the most enlightened nations, there is a certain odium attached to such professions, which no wise government would choose to have attached to the character of its public and authorized teachers.

We know how unpopular the clergy in Ireland are on account of the means they are often obliged to use in collecting their own tithes; and to destroy entirely their influence, it would be necessary only to make each clergyman collect, in addition to his own tithes, the government taxes of his parish.

"2nd. That, however the matter may be explained in the commencement, we know that in every concern of this nature a certain degree of responsibility is involved; and if the practice were once established, that responsibility would be certainly increasing, and would ultimately involve the missionary in every complaint, and lead to distressing consequences, both with the local authorities and the people.

"3rd. The secular business already imposed upon the missionaries at Bethelsdorp has long been felt as an intolerable burden; and it certainly would not be advisable for the missionary at that institution to take upon himself any additional burdens at the moment when we are calling for relief from oppressions of a similar nature, under which the institution is now groaning.

"4th. If you take upon yourself this additional burden, it may be pleaded as a precedent to justify the same measure at other institutions; and if you or your successor should afterwards find it necessary to discontinue this service, that discontinuance may be urged as matter of complaint against you.

"5th. On this plan, which constitutes the missionary the collector of the opgaaf, the usual produce of this tax will not be forthcoming. This tax presses with an enormous and unequal weight upon many of the Hottentots. At some missionary institutions in this colony, and in most cases when the people among the

farmers are obliged to pay this tax, it amounts to one-fourth and one-third of their wages, during the whole year. In most cases, where the disproportion between the price of labour and the taxes is so great, it must be squeezed out of the people by the terror of an appearance at the drostdy before the landdrost; but the substitution of the missionary in place of the landdrost would have quite a different effect. The hope that a full statement of these grievances would work upon the feelings of the missionary, so as to induce him to advance the money required, or to apologize for those who may be without the means to pay, would destroy the sinews of exertion, and perhaps half the amount of the products of the tax.

"6th. It is the duty of a landdrost to collect the taxes in his own district, or to employ those that are paid for it, to do it. The local authorities are paid by government for their services. The missionaries at Bethelsdorp have always had more secular work to do for government than any field-cornet in the district has upon his hands, and they have never had any remuneration for their trouble. The government has no more claim upon your time than it has upon your property; and it has no more right to command you to collect the opgaaf from the Hottentots than it has to command the Rev. Alex. Smith, the Dutch colonial minister of Uitenhage, to collect the opgaaf from the farmers and other colonists.

"7th, and lastly. There are other reasons, which weigh as much with me in the present question as any of those already mentioned. The practice, if it is once submitted to, will furnish the landdrost with the means of annoying the missionary to a degree

beyond all Christian endurance. From the spirit Colonel Cuyler has manifested towards Bethelsdorp, I am strongly inclined to suspect that that weighed more with him, on urging the measure, than the trouble he would save to himself by having it carried into execution. If there is any doubt with any one on this point, that doubt will be removed, by looking over the correspondence between the landdrost and the missionaries. In the wood case, the game case, the case of William Bruintjes, and particularly in the manner in which he has been in the habit of annoying the missionaries respecting the passes demanded for the Hottentots, it will be seen what a mischievous instrument this power might be in the hands of such a man as Colonel Cuyler.

"I am, &c.

"JOHN PHILIP."

As the period fixed for paying the opgaaf was now drawing near, and there was no time to lose in the business, when the above communication was made to Mr. Kitchingman, copies of it were addressed to the colonial government in Cape Town, and to Colonel Cuyler.

The correspondence had hitherto been carried on between Mr. Kitchingman and the government, but I had now become a party in the business, and shortly after I had notice sent me by the government, requesting my attendance at the colonial-office. The subject was now viewed by the colonial government in a different light from what it had been: the idea of compelling Mr. Kitchingman to collect the opgaaf, and of making him responsible for the tax, was now aban-

doned; and this formidable attempt, which threatened the ruin of our missions, was now softened down to a request that I would solicit Mr. Kitchingman, in compliance with the wishes of the government, to continue, as he had begun, to collect the tax for the current year. To this proposition I readily consented, on the following conditions:—That it should be considered entirely as a voluntary thing on the part of the missionary; that his collecting the tax for this year was not to be pleaded as a precedent in future to compel him, or any other of our missionaries, to collect the opgaaf, and that he was not to be annoyed by the landdrost while engaged in the performance of this service.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Interest of the Colonial Functionaries in the Oppression of the Aborigines.—Colonel Cuyler's Requisitions for Hottentot Servants.—Reasons assigned by him for refusing Hottentots Permission to join the Missionary Institutions.—Occasion in which this Assumption of Authority originated.—Appeal of Mr. Read to Sir John Cradock.—Case of Hottentots ordered from Bethelsdorp to labour on the Somerset Farm.—Case of Hottentots placed under Contract by the Landdrost of that District.—Fruitless remonstrances to the Colonial Government.—System of the Romans in the Administration of their conquered Provinces, and of the Dutch in former days, compared with that of England.

In the preceding pages of this volume, we laid before our readers a long list of enormous oppressions, under which the natives of South Africa have been groaning for many years, and we are now called upon, in the way of explanation, to another painful part of our duty, which is, to show the personal interest those that should afford them protection have in endeavouring to perpetuate their miserable bondage and prevent their improvement.

It has been remarked by Lord Bacon, that religion, justice, counsel, and treasure, are the pillars of government; and we may add, that the fall of one of these pillars is generally accompanied by the subversion of the whole. There can be no religion where justice is wanting, and wealth can never accumulate in the treasury of a nation, or in the cottages of the poor, when counsel and talent are employed in building up

private fortunes at the expense of the public. It has been justly remarked, "When men are in the possession of uncontrolled and undefined power, they cannot fail, like other men, to have a greater care for what is advantageous to themselves, than what is advantageous to other men. They pursue, therefore, their own advantage in preference to that of the rest of the community. That is enough: where there is nothing to check that propensity, all the evils of misgovernment, that is, in one word, all the worst evils by which human nature is cursed, are the inevitable consequence *."

A slight attention bestowed on the reasoning contained in the above quotation, will show that it is not more sound in its principles than it is applicable to the present condition of the natives of South Africa.

It has been shown that the Hottentots are entirely at the disposal of the local authorities of the country, and the following cases will sufficiently account for the opposition we have had to encounter, in our attempts to discharge our duty to that oppressed people, and will at the same time demonstrate their hopeless condition, while the power now exercised over their persons, and families, and labour, is allowed to remain.

The landed proprietors of South Africa, being obliged to keep their grounds in their own hands, and not being able to let them on leases as in Europe, their value to them must depend upon the price of labour, and the number of hands they can command; and it is obvious, while things remain in this state, while the magistrates are under such strong temptations to op-

* Encyclopædia Britannica, Supplement, vol. v. "On the liberty of the Press," page 265.

press the people by enslaving them, and keeping down the price of labour, the latter have nothing to look for without the interference of the British government, but an increase of suffering.

On the 12th October, 1820, Mr. Barker, then at the head of the Missionary Institution of Bethelsdorp, received a letter from Colonel Cuyler, requesting him to send him six or eight able-bodied men, to work at his farm of Doorn Kraal *. Owing to the state of the institution, almost all the men belonging to it being already employed in public work, or engaged in other kind of service, the missionary could not send him the number he required. On the 19th of the same month the landdrost addressed another letter to the missionary on the same subject, stating, in the way of complaint, that two Hottentots had appeared before him, to hire to a farmer of the name of Botha, and that, on asking them whether he (the missionary) had requested them to serve him (the landdrost), they replied, that he had not. In this letter the landdrost adds, "I am much in want of a few men, and offer to pay them more wages than these people hire for; I must, therefore, once more repeat my request in the same way I did before." On the part of Mr. Barker, there was every disposition to serve the landdrost, in this, as in every other instance; but, in the exhausted state in which the institution then was, it was impossible, unless the landdrost had sent an order to press the men he wanted, as was usual when they were demanded for what was called government work, a thing he was not willing to do, on the present occasion.

* From the year 1809 to the year 1827, Colonel Cuyler, the landdrost of Uitenhage, obtained seven grants of lands from the Colonial government, extending to 33,964 acres. To this we may add 12,000 acres obtained by purchase or barter.

On the 6th of November, Mr. Barker had an application from a Hottentot, not belonging to the institution, for permission to join it, which, according to the custom which had been established for some preceding years, he referred to the landdrost for his approval. To this reference Mr. Barker received the following reply:—"Sir, you must excuse my giving any more Hottentots permission to join your institution before I find those you have already can be made *more useful to the community*."

Mr. Barker, shortly after this period, removed to Theopolis, and was succeeded by Mr. Kitchingman. To a written application from Kitchingman, February 21, 1821, praying that the bearer of it (another Hottentot) might be permitted to join the institution, the following answer was returned by the landdrost, written upon the back of his pass.—"This Hottentot, named in the written paper, must find a master within three days, or else come to the landdrost to hire." Yet the Hottentot for whom the application was made had his discharge with him, stating that he had honestly and faithfully served in the Cape regiment, from 8th July, 1807, to 24th September, 1817; and that his service being no longer required, he was honourably discharged.

To another application of a similar nature, on the 22d February, the landdrost replied in a letter dated 23d February, referring Mr. Kitchingman to his note to Mr. Barker, of 7th November, 1820, in which he excused himself for not giving more Hottentots permission to join the institution till he should find "that they can be made more *useful to the community*."

It has been justly remarked that by far the greater portion of injuries inflicted by human beings on their

miserable fellow-mortals have been committed on account of property. The cases here related, with others under consideration, sufficiently show that there are no other limits to the encroachment of power, when that power, stimulated by interest, can be exercised with impunity, than despotism, on the one hand, and the most abject slavery on the other. The rise of our missionary institutions has already been described, and the manner in which the people at them acquired their privileges has been pointed out, so as to supersede the necessity of any further details on this subject here. By the privilege enjoyed by the institutions of Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, of admitting such Hottentots as were not under contracts, in the first instance the magistrates lost no patronage; but when the proclamations of 1809 and 1812 placed the Hottentots and their families not at the missionary institutions entirely at their disposal, they were, from that moment, placed in circumstances of strong temptation to oppose the efforts of the missionaries, and to prevent the people from joining the institutions. Some attempts to deprive the institutions of the power of receiving Hottentots not in service, without the permission of the landdrost, appear to have been made during the life-time of Dr. Vanderkemp, which were afterwards abandoned in consequence of the strong representations made by him; but he had been dead a few months only when his successor at Bethelsdorp received the prohibition contained in the preceding pages, that he was to receive no more Hottentots into the institution without the landdrost's written permission. The circumstances which led to this assumption of power, and the manner in which it was confirmed by the colonial government, entitle it

to particular notice in this place, as will be found from the following letters on the subject, addressed by Mr. Read to his Excellency Sir John Cradock.

"*Bethelsdorp, 7th July*, 1812.

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's kind promises towards this institution,—it being your full determination to put a stop to all oppression in this part of his Majesty's dominions,—and your readiness to give redress to those who have the happiness to be placed under your Excellency's government, encourage me to address myself to you on the present occasion. The impositions imposed upon the Hottentots have been great and many, and none more visible or more shameful than that which gives rise to the present complaint, and against which I doubt not your Excellency will be ready to show abhorrence and disdain. I received on the 3d July, a note from Major Cuyler, directing that if the two Hottentots, the names of whom the cornet would show on a paper, were at Bethelsdorp, I was to direct them to serve out their time. The paper alluded to was a declaration from the Secretary that, in the year 1805, two Bastaard children named Greef and Anna, had been enregistered by O. Kemp and W. Moleman, by order of the former landdrost; the first girl as being at that time five years of age, the latter four, both to serve till the age of eighteen years*. These two persons I received into the institution on the 7th April, on their declaration that they had no lawful engagement with any inhabitant. I perceived immediately that the claim now made was a

* This case has been briefly related at page 181, where the result of Mr. Read's appeal will be found stated.

gross imposition, and sent the girls to Major Cuyler with a letter, a copy of which I inclose to your Excellency, and received only in return an order forbidding me to receive any Hottentots whatever into the institution, except those already enregistered, before they had been with him, and received his permission. With respect to these persons, one is supposed to be about twenty-four years of age, and the other not much less; one would have had to serve six years, and the other seven, if it had not been for my interference.

"My solicitation in particular is with respect to Major Cuyler's orders. I believe no other institution is laid under such restrictions, and I cannot possibly comprehend how the major conceives that by this means such impositions will be prevented. Were it possible for me, upon the slightest ground, to believe the major to be a friend to the institution, or to the instruction of the Hottentots, I should be more induced to submit in silence; but as many instances have proved to the contrary, (some of which your Excellency could see in the deposition of the late Rev. Dr. Vanderkemp, and in none more than in case 108 of Piet Jantjes and Sturm Cornet,) I feel it my duty to implore that it may please your Excellency to recall the order of the major, as I fear the effects would soon be visible with those poor Hottentots, who wish to get religious instruction. That your Excellency may be assured of the truth of what I have related, I send the original of the major's orders, and the paper alluded to, written by his secretary. With confidence in your Excellency's good intentions, I shall wait.

"I have the honour, &c.,

(*Signed*) "J. Read."

"*His Excellency*, Sir John Cradock."

The following case is adduced as an additional illustration of this subject:—

On the 7th of December, 1820, the Rev. J. Barker, the missionary then at the head of the institution, Bethelsdorp, received an order from Colonel Cuyler, requiring that ten or twelve men should proceed without delay to the Government Farm at Somerset, to assist in cutting down the harvest. The distance they had to travel was about one hundred and twenty miles. No money was advanced to them to prepare them for their journey; and, to fortify their minds against the apprehension of starvation, they were merely told that, at three different places upon the road, provisions would be found for them. They were not made at all acquainted with the length of time during which their services would be required. No option was allowed them to take with them their families or their cattle; and no provision was made for their families during their absence. They received their pay only from the day they commenced work at Somerset, and no allowance was made to them for the time consumed in going or returning, which common justice demanded; nor was there any arrangement made, by which they should obtain food whilst on their journey home. They were not only employed in getting in the harvest, but also were directed to assist in erecting the walls of a house, and in preparing charcoal; and they received no portion whatever of their wages till the period of their discharge—nearly, if not fully, three months after their arrival. Their wages, also, did not exceed four skillings per diem (ninepence sterling); and this is not more than the inhabitants of Bethelsdorp can obtain, within a few miles of their own station, for reaping grain; and have, at the same

time, a sufficiency of food found for their families as well as themselves.

The rate of wages at Somerset was, however, much higher than that by which the Hottentots, employed by the landdrost at Uitenhage, are paid; the wages for what is called government work, at the latter place, being two skillings (or fourpence halfpenny) per day only. It is a hard case, indeed, that all the burden of what is called government work should fall upon the Hottentots; and that they should, under various pretexts of being employed in the service of government, be compelled to labour, under official men, for one-half, often one-fourth only, and, in some cases, for one-sixth or eighth of the wages they might receive were they treated as the other colonists are, and allowed to carry their labour to the best market.

The following statement, which relates to a period so recent as December 1825, has been communicated to me by a gentleman of the highest respectability, who was in that part of the country when the occurrence he relates took place, and who learned the facts from the undoubted authority of some of the local functionaries on the spot.

The landdrost of Somerset had some time previously sent a Hottentot with his waggon, to bring some goods for him from another village. Unfortunately for the Hottentot, there happened to be a small cask of Cape brandy among the goods; and though in other respects a useful and faithful servant, he could not resist the temptation thus placed within his reach: he tapped the barrel, and drank part of the liquor. The theft was readily discovered, and the culprit was punished by flogging and imprisonment. Most masters would have

been satisfied with this, but not so this worshipful magistrate. He only released the man from prison in order to place him, together with his *wife and family, under contract* to a person in the village, (such being the high powers with which such functionaries are vested), for a period of *three years*, at the rate of ten rix-dollars (fifteen shillings sterling) per annum; with the further proviso, that no part of this pittance of wages should go to the Hottentot or his family, but that the whole amount, for the three years' servitude, (thirty rix-dollars in all,) should be paid over, in advance, by the new master to himself (the magistrate), in compensation for the brandy which the Hottentot had drank*.

The wages which this same Hottentot had for several years received from Mr. Hart, before he came into the landdrost's service, and which he could still readily obtain in the district, if left at liberty to hire himself, was fifty rix-dollars *per annum*, a suit of clothes, and provisions for his family. In Albany, any respectable Hottentot family could, at that time, obtain ten rix-dollars per month, and provisions; many earn much more.

This same magistrate had, also, managed to get two other Hottentot families placed under contract to himself for a term of three years, at the rate of fifteen rix-dollars per annum for each family. Nevertheless, these same individuals had received, the preceding year, from Mr. Hart, and might still readily obtain in the neighbourhood, if left to their free disposal, fifty rix-dollars per

* A cask of Cape brandy, called a *half aum*, and containing nineteen gallons, may be purchased, in any part of the colony, at from twenty to thirty rix-dollars.

annum, with provisions and clothing. Such are some of the effects of magisterial influence at the Cape, as exercised on the Hottentot race. Such stories have been often told of the Dutch boors and functionaries; but the functionary in question was neither a Dutchman nor an African, but a British military officer, and a special favourite, at that time, of the colonial government.

Several of the preceding cases, with many others now passed over in silence, were laid before the colonial government, in a memorial addressed to Lord Charles Somerset in 1822, to which allusion has already been made; but to such representations no redress, and, in many instances, even no reply was granted. Every representation which I made to the colonial government, of the sufferings of the Hottentot people, was followed by fresh oppressions on the part of the colonial authorities; nor have we reason to expect, in the present state of human nature, that it will be otherwise till those authorities shall cease to have any longer an interest in enslaving them.

These and numerous cases of the same kind which might be adduced, afford sufficient proof of the hardships to which the Hottentots are exposed, and sufficiently account for the hopeless state of wretchedness to which they are reduced. Had the farmers been the only party in the colony interested in keeping up this system of oppression, it would have been long since mitigated; but what have the natives to look for while the protecting power of the colonial government is, by its interest, enlisted on the side of oppression? Before we take our leave of this part of our subject, we shall take the liberty of introducing a few reflections in connexion with the design of this work.

It is evident, from the preceding statements, that no permanent amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of South Africa is to be expected from any recommendation to the local authorities of the country. They have at this moment a greater interest in oppressing them than the other colonists have; and justice and humanity have nothing to expect from the generality of men, when their interest and their duty are found taking different directions.

It is matter of surprise that the wisdom, so strikingly evinced by the Roman statesmen and lawyers, in the salutary provisions introduced into the system of their provincial governments, should have been so little attended to, by those who have had to legislate for the British colonies under the king's government. While the governors of the provinces were armed with the sword of justice, while they could inflict corporal punishment, and exercise on capital offences the power of life and death, they were not allowed to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own mode of execution, or to pronounce a sentence of the mildest and most honourable kind of exile.

It has been remarked on this article, that the distinction which seems to grant the larger while it denies the smaller degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The passions of a provincial magistrate might frequently provoke him into acts of oppression, which affected only the freedom or the fortunes of the subject, though, from a principle of prudence, perhaps of humanity, he might still be terrified by the guilt of shedding innocent blood. It may likewise be considered that exile, considerable fines, and choice as to the mode of dying, relate more particularly to the rich and the

noble; and the persons the most exposed to the avarice or resentment of a provincial magistrate, were thus removed from his obscure persecution to the more august tribunal of the prætorian prefect.

To prevent a corrupt bias, which might arise from having his interest and his duty placed in opposition to each other, the strictest regulations were established to exclude any person, without the special dispensation of the emperor, from the government of the province in which he was born*; and to prevent the governor or his son from contracting marriage with a native or an inhabitant †, or from purchasing slaves, lands or houses within the limits of his jurisdiction ‡.

It was by acting upon such principles as these, that the Romans extended, and so long preserved, their empire; and it is by acting upon similar principles, that England will preserve her own greatness, and hand down her fame to future ages.

The Dutch preceded us in the formation of colonies: they opened to us the sea; they taught us the principles of navigation and commerce; and their flag covered

* Ut nulli patriæ suæ administratio sine speciali principis permissu permittetur. (Cod. Justinian. l. i., tit. xli.) This law was first enacted by the Emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Cassius. (Dion, l. lxxi.) The same regulation is observed in China, with equal strictness and with equal effect.

† Pandect., l. xxiii., tit. ii., n. 38, 57, 63.

‡ In jure continetur, ne quis in administratione constitutus aliquid compararet. (Cod. Theod., l. viii. tit. xv., leg. 1.) This maxim of common law was enforced by a series of edicts, (see the remainder of the title,) from Constantine to Justin. From this prohibition, which is extended to the meanest officers of the governors, they except only clothes and provisions. The purchase within five years may be recovered, after which, on information, it devolves to the treasury.

the ocean, from the eastern shores of America to the coasts of India. During the early period of their history, they paid particular attention to the interests of the aborigines of their colonies. Their instructions to their governors were full of wisdom and humanity. "It is not," says the Dutch East India Company, in numerous communications to the Cape government, "our object to oppress or enslave the natives, but to elevate and improve them :" and their sincerity in these declarations was then evinced by the care they took to prevent it ever becoming the interest of governors, and their civil and military servants, to act in opposition to these principles.

Agreeably to the Justinian Code *, the governor and the civil and military servants of the Company were prohibited from holding land in the colony; and there was an example, in the last century, of a Dutch governor being stripped of a single farm, at Hottentot's Holland, and afterwards recalled, and tried on different charges, the principal of which had reference to his conduct towards the Hottentots.

While the Dutch government exercised its power to promote the general interests of its colonial dependencies, each of those dependencies, under its paternal culture, added to the wealth of the parent state; in the same manner that the soil repays the cultivator for the wealth he expends upon its improvement. But, when the thirst of gain had absorbed every other passion, and every thing came to be valued according as it ministered to individual rapacity, those very colonies, whence she

* See Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii, p.52.

derived her former wealth, ceased to be any longer productive.

Nothing can be more dissimilar than the practice which originated with the Romans, and was copied by the Dutch government till a late period, and that which has been followed by the British colonial government of the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Colonial system towards the Hottentots extended to all the other Free Coloured Inhabitants.—Causes which promote or retard Population.— Obstructions to Industry in the Hottentots.—Consumption of British Goods which would result from improving their condition.—Injurious effects of the existing system to the welfare of the Colony.—Comparison between the present condition of the Hottentots and that of the Peasantry of Britain in the feudal times.—Remarks of Dr. Adam Smith.—Short-sighted Policy of the Colonial Government in oppressing the Natives.—Remarks on Sir J. Cradock's Letter to Mr. Campbell.—Comparison between the Hottentots at the Missionary Institutions and those in the service of the Boors.—Letter from Earl Bathurst to Lord C. Somerset.—Observations on the Views expressed in it.

In all my future reasonings upon the subject now under consideration, it will be of importance to our argument to keep in remembrance, that all the coloured population of South Africa, under the jurisdiction of the British government, including Bushmen, Caffers, Bechuana captives and refugees, and also the prize negroes, are suffering under the same oppressions with the colonial Hottentots. They are regarded in the same light in the eye of the law: the proclamations of government which apply to the one apply to all the others; and the treatment which they receive from the local authorities of the country, and from the colonists, is in all respects the same. While this is recollected, in pleading the cause of the Hottentots, we shall feel our benevolence enlarged by reflecting, that we are not pleading the cause of a tribe only, but of various hordes and tribes of the

nations in South Africa now under the British government, and of all those numerous and interesting tribes and nations in that country, that must, in future, from the increasing population and extension of the colony, fall under its dominion. After the descriptions which have been given of the present condition of the various classes of the natives of South Africa, I shall be excused if, before closing this volume, I make an appeal to the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British public, in their behalf. In pursuance of this object, we shall first consider their claims to be treated as a free people, on the grounds of policy; and this part of the subject will, for obvious reasons, supply the largest portion for our remarks.

With respect to an increase of labourers, it scarcely requires an argument to prove that this can only be done by furnishing that class of people with the means of subsistence, so as to enable them to rear large families.

In the present day, it is a general maxim, placed beyond controversy, that every people do increase in their numbers exactly in proportion to their means of subsistence. If they are amply provided for with the necessaries and conveniences of life, their increase will be rapid, and *vice versâ*.

When Barrow contrasted the large families of the boors with the small families of the Hottentots, and expressed his surprise that Hottentot women should be so unprolific when connected with Hottentot men, and that there should be no deficiency of that nature when united to colonists, without adverting to the cause, he added an additional proof of their wretchedness to his other proofs adduced on that subject. Penury and

oppression, and the anxiety and distress of mind arising from these circumstances, are as unfavourable to the increase of population, as they are to the formation and establishment of habits of industry and cleanliness.

Supposing, as in the case of the Hottentot, there is a demand for labour, it may be stated, as almost a self-evident proposition, that to stimulate him to industry, he must have security afforded him, that he shall have a just and full reward for his labour. Man is naturally indolent, and there are but two ways of overcoming his natural aversion to labour,—fear, or hope; the first arises from the apprehension of punishment, and is the motive of the slave; the second is the more powerful, being most agreeable to nature, and cannot exist, except the labourer has a fair compensation secured to him, as a remuneration for his exertions.

If Hottentots are improvident, and without ambition*, to account for this state of mind you are to

* In this instance I have, merely for argument's sake, admitted the charges brought against the Hottentots; for whatever truth there may be in these charges as it respects the Hottentots in the Graaff-Reinet district, they are not applicable to the Hottentots at our institutions.

From the length of time Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser resided at the colony, and the opportunities he had of observing the Hottentot character, his views on this subject, as exhibited by the following extract from a letter dated at the Barracks, near Graham's Town, 7th December 1822, will be received with great deference. "I certainly do think, that the changes effected upon the Hottentots under favourable circumstances, are such as will *fully justify* the idea, that their character is such as will amply repay the labour bestowed on cultivating it; and I feel convinced that the generality of the Hottentots are a people *far superior* in every respect to the ideas generally entertained of them (and that more particularly at home, and by those who, from not knowing the Hottentots, are

look not to any physical peculiarity in their natural constitution, but to the circumstances under which they are placed. It is impossible to mark the state of degradation to which Hottentots are reduced, and not inquire,—how men can be elevated, while the burdens which oppress them are so great?—how they can be industrious, when the sinews of industry are so much cramped?—or, how they can be expected to discover any thing like even a virtuous emulation, while precluded, by their circumstances, from rising above a condition of slavery the most hopeless and wretched?

It may be further added, that the Hottentot, to have a full reward for his toil, should be allowed full liberty, without restriction, to settle where he can have the best return for his labour. It is on this judicious principle that the law of settlement in England has been lately amended. In my strictures on the proclamation of 1809, I have endeavoured to show the injustice of the restrictive regulation, by which the Hottentot is prevented from going beyond the jurisdiction of his landdrost, or field cornet, without permission; and the numerous facts which evince its crying injustice, might be adduced to show its impolicy. By the law of passes, a Hottentot, not at a missionary institution, is obliged to be in service; and it is no uncommon thing for masters,

consequently ignorant of the many good qualities which they *naturally possess*). I am clearly of opinion that I could select (or name) eight or a dozen Hottentots, from the institution of *Theopolis*, as also a number from the other institutions, and many who have been discharged from the Cape corps, whom I would consider in *every respect* fully as *trust-worthy*, intelligent, and industrious, &c., as the generality of the African burghers (or farmers) who reside in the frontier districts, as well as some of those in other parts of the colony.

when these Hottentots refuse to enter into fresh contracts with them, to send them to the jail, and keep them there, till they agree to the terms offered them. I could mention families, even in Cape Town, who obtained Hottentots from the jail, who had been incarcerated under the action of this law, and who do their masters' work at four rix-dollars a month, and clothes, while the same masters hire out their own slaves at the rate of twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five, forty, and forty-five rix-dollars a month. Were an inquiry instituted into the conduct of Hottentots hired in this manner, it will be found that, in some instances, they are as much valued by the families in which they serve as the slaves; and it is certain, that were they not obliged to enter into contracts, but allowed to carry their labour to the best market, instead of four rix-dollars per month, they would be receiving from fifteen to twenty per month.

If it is a settled principle, that the Hottentots have no rights—that they are *bonâ fide* the property of the colonial government, then it may be perfectly equitable to allow them to fall in this manner into the hands of the local authorities of the country as one of the perquisites of office; but if the practice were even consistent with our notions of the principles of justice, it is utterly at variance with all the principles of sound policy. Considering the Hottentots simply as property, it is the interest of the proprietor to raise the value of that property as much as possible; and no mode of farming it out can be more opposite to the true interest of the colony, or more calculated to depress its value, than the present system of the colonial government. Those formerly at the head of the go-

vernment seem never even to have thought of giving up a present advantage for future gain, nor to have contemplated the aborigines of the country as consumers, or in any other light than as labourers furnishing a present accommodation to their masters. But whatever advantage the local authorities of the country and their friends may derive from keeping the Hottentots in their present condition, it will be seen by the following facts, that the system is as much opposed to the general interests of the colony, and to those of the mother-country, as it is to the interests of the Hottentots.

We have already shown, at page 216, that in 1822, the British goods consumed at Bethelsdorp amounted to the sum of twenty thousand rix-dollars. If we rate the number of the consumers at one thousand*, and the Hottentots within the colony at thirty thousand, it will be found that by raising all the Hottentots of the colony to the condition of Hottentots at *Bethelsdorp*, a new and extensive market would be created for British goods. We say nothing of the increased consumption of British manufactures which would be occasioned by the emulation stirred up in the families of the farmers by the improvement in the dress of the Hottentots, or of the increase of our exports which would necessarily arise from the additional stimulus which would be given to the industry of the Hottentots,

* One thousand, the number taken here, is not perhaps equal to the number of Hottentots on the books of the Bethelsdorp institution, including those among the farmers; but it must considerably exceed the number of the actual consumers. Add to the Hottentots the other classes of the natives within the colony, and the argument will be further strengthened.

by the increase of their artificial wants. By a comparison of the terms of the contract already mentioned in page 223, by which the Hottentots of Bethelsdorp undertook, in 1822, the transport of the government stores from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, with the prices formerly given to the farmers for that service, it will be found that the Hottentots having this contract, furnished a net saving to government of 11,175 rix-dollars in six months.

Some of the evil effects of the existing system have been strikingly exemplified since the arrival of the English settlers in the colony. On many accounts it is the obvious policy of government to encourage free labourers; but free labourers can have no encouragement while the Hottentots are compelled to serve at such reduced wages. Blacksmiths and carpenters may find a return for their labour in the existing state of things; but the local authorities of the districts and their friends will not give a sufficient remuneration to the free labourer, while they can compel the Hottentots to serve them for a trifle. On this very principle, the landdrosts of Graham's Town have, for years past, been in the habit of ordering Hottentots from *Theopolis*, on what is called government service, while the poor settlers were in want of encouragement, in Albany, wandering over the country in quest of bread, or taking refuge in Cape Town.

To allow the Hottentot the power of carrying his labour to the best market, is one of the first steps necessary in attempting to elevate the character of the coloured population, to undermine the system of slavery, to encourage the increase of free labourers, and give a healthy stimulus to the industry of the colony.

These are but a few out of many instances which

might be adduced, in support of the principle which furnishes the basis of our present reasonings; but the principle itself is so evident to gentlemen at all acquainted with the principles of political economy, as scarcely to require illustration.

It is obvious that, while the Hottentots remain in their present degraded and wretched state, their condition must have a depressing influence on the industry and morals of all ranks of the inhabitants; but by elevating them above their present level, the whole colony will be elevated along with them. The legislative enactment which converts any portion of men into slaves, reduces the masters to the condition of tyrants; and the law which breaks the chains of slavery, and takes the whip from the hand of the master, does as much for the improvement of the one, as it does for the comfort of the other.

To what does England owe the subversion of the feudal system, and its high rank among the nations of the world, but to the emancipation and elevation of its peasantry? Every one acquainted with the ancient state of England, and with the condition of the Hottentots, must be aware, that no just comparison can be instituted between our peasantry under the feudal system, and the present state of the Hottentots. But, lest this incidental allusion should be seized by interested individuals, for purposes inimical to the cause of the aborigines of South Africa, I shall be excused for making a few remarks on the subject.

The ancient feudal government, as it existed in Great Britain in former times, and, still more, as it was seen in the Highlands of Scotland till a late period, had much in it of the patriarchal character. The chief, in the

midst of his people, was brought to regard them as his kinsmen; and, in his relation to them, he sustained the complicated characters of their judge, their protector, their leader; and they, in return, regarded him with a proud and even a filial reverence.

We look in vain for any of the advantages of this form of government in South Africa. The Hottentots are not sufficiently numerous to inspire those that rule over them with fear. They have not the advantages enjoyed by a numerous tribe, even when subject to a tyrant—their oppressors are more numerous than they themselves are*. The peasantry of England, in the feudal times, whatever might be their condition as individuals, had all the importance derived from numbers and strength. On this principle, their chiefs found it necessary to cultivate their love and esteem; and even, when those chiefs at any time sacrificed their true interests to the rapacity of their dispositions, there was still some motive left to industry.

The peasant knew that, if he could conceal himself

* Any objection to the freedom of the Hottentots, arising from an apprehension of danger to the colony, is too ludicrous to deserve a serious answer. There is no class of people in that colony on whose loyalty more dependence can be placed. The boors have been in rebellion, and the slaves have been in a state of insurrection; and both have been put down by the Hottentots. The farmers may again be in rebellion, and the slaves may again be in a state of insurrection; but from the Hottentots such a danger is not likely to arise. Independently of the condition of the Hottentots, the very elements composing the Hottentot character are sufficient securities against the probability of any bad consequences arising from the act which confers upon that injured people their just rights. There is a mildness in the character of the Hottentots—a hereditary reverence for authority—a kind of constitutional loyalty, that furnishes sufficient security for their fidelit y.

for one twelvemonth from his feudal lord, he might enjoy his earnings in a state of freedom. The Hottentot has no city of refuge provided for him.

I advance to meet the abettors of the present system upon their own grounds. For argument's sake, I shall allow the Hottentots to be as idle and as worthless as they, from selfish principles, represent them; but I maintain that these evils arise out of their condition; and that it is preposterous—that it argues a total ignorance of human nature, or some strange obliquity of mind, to suppose that the people can be industrious without a single motive to industry. I am happy to avail myself of the support of a great name on this question:—

"Order and good government," says Dr. Adam Smith, "and along with them the liberty and security of individuals, were in this manner established in cities, at a time when the occupiers of land in the country were exposed to every sort of violence. But men in this defenceless state naturally content themselves with their necessary subsistence; because to acquire more might only tempt the injustice of their oppressors. On the contrary, when they are secure of enjoying the fruits of their industry, they naturally exert it to better their condition, and to acquire not only the necessaries, but the conveniencies and elegancies of life.

"That industry, therefore, which aims at something more than necessary subsistence, was established in cities long before it was commonly practised by the occupiers of land in the country. If, in the hands of a poor cultivator, oppressed with the servitude of villainage, some little stock should accumulate, he would naturally conceal it with great care from his master, to whom it would otherwise have belonged, and take the

first opportunity of running away to a town. The law was, at that time, so indulgent to the inhabitants of towns, and so desirous of diminishing the authority of the lords over those of the country, that if he could conceal himself there, from the pursuit of his lord, for a year, he was free for ever. Whatever stock, therefore, accumulated in the hands of the industrious part of the inhabitants of the country, naturally took refuge in cities, as the only sanctuaries in which it could be secure to the person that acquired it."

In conformity with the plan proposed in this article, I submit, with deference, a few observations on the views of the colonial government, as they are unfolded in the letter of Sir John Cradock, (now Lord Howden), to Mr. Campbell *. It is observed in his Excellency's letter, "that the disinclination to increase, or even maintain the [missionary] institutions already established in this colony, is almost universal; and that the general alarm and outcry is, that if they are permitted to enlarge or disseminate, the most fatal injury will ensue to the agriculture and sustenance of the community."

It is obvious that this almost universal disinclination and general alarm arise simply from this, that every landdrost, heemraad, farmer, and, in fact, master of every description, whether English or Dutch, is naturally desirous of obtaining servants at a cheap rate. This desire being, therefore, universal on the part of masters, the outcry is, of course, general; and, since these institutions are supposed to prevent masters from obtaining so many, and such cheap servants, as they otherwise would, they are thus necessarily the objects of dislike. I apprehend, however, that his Excellency,

* See Appendix, No. IV.

when making use of the terms "universal" and "general," had reference solely to the opinion of landdrosts, and farmers, and other masters; and not to that of the servants, who might be equally competent judges of the advantages of the institution.

If the above be a correct view of the case, we come, I think, fairly to this conclusion; that the universality of the outcry against the institutions, on the part of masters, certainly affords no arguments whatever against, but, I should infer, rather in favour of the institutions, because it, in some measure, proves that these institutions did afford some protection to the servants against the exactions of their masters. It is also observed in his Excellency's letter, "that if the labours in the field at the proper season of the year are not cheerfully accorded to all the surrounding farmers," &c. On this I would remark, that if it be a fact that there is a scarcity of labour, it is beyond the possibility of an institution, in whatever way conducted, to afford labourers *to all.* But in point of fact, the missionary institutions, so far from operating as a disadvantage to the farmers, have proved of the greatest service to the neighbourhoods in which they are situated. While they have elevated the characters of the Hottentots and raised their value as servants, the accommodation they have furnished to the farmers in their vicinity have considerably raised the value of their lands. In illustration of this subject, I am happy to avail myself of the authority of the Commissioners of Inquiry. Referring to the Hottentots at our missionary institutions, they remark:—"Their services, in harvest-time, have thus been found more valuable to the neighbouring farmers, than where whole families subsist throughout the year as indigent

retainers." What, then, may I be permitted to ask, would, under these circumstances, appear to be the line of policy most beneficial to the colony? May I not say, that it is clearly the interest of government not to listen to the clamour of those who may, unfortunately for themselves, have been amongst the number of masters who, in consequence of the paucity of labourers, have not procured so many servants as they might desire; but to protect and cherish all well-conducted institutions, and thereby induce the labourers to increase their number? Any government conducted upon enlightened and liberal principles will not assist one class of its subjects in depressing another, but, passing by all distinctions arising from the arrogant pretensions of such as may wish to have exclusive privileges, or a chartered monopoly of the flesh and bones of any part of their fellow-creatures, will take its stand on the broad principles of truth and justice, and will, from this eminence, hold out its incentives to virtue only, and its discouragements to vice. Make the Hottentots free, and give them a fair price for their labour, their masters will have double the work that they obtain at present, and this increase of value to their masters will treble their value to the state. It may be safely affirmed that the Hottentots who reside at the institutions, generally speaking, do more than double the work that is done by those who are constantly among the farmers. I have in my eye, at this moment, a farm on which the proprietor keeps forty slaves and thirty Hottentots, and no one, who is acquainted with farming, as it is carried on in England, would hesitate to say that all the labour of this farm could be effected by twenty English servants. It is allowed that one Englishman will do more than twice the work

of one Irishman in his own country, and that the latter will do twice the work in England he was in the habit of doing in Ireland. To what are we to attribute this change but to a difference of circumstances? In England, the labourer has a sufficiency of wages to procure the nourishment required to support the physical strength necessary to hard labour; and he has the fruits of his industry secured to him. In Ireland, those advantages, which are the very sinews of industry, are denied.

While the following passage from Malthus exhibits, in a condensed form, the substance of all the arguments contained in this article, it accounts, at the same time, for the real cause of the degradation of the Hottentots, and points to the only means by which they can be elevated in the scale of being, and rendered more useful to the state:

"Of all the causes," observes that able and distinguished writer, "which tend to generate prudential habits among the lower classes of society, the most essential is, unquestionably, civil liberty." "No people can be much accustomed to form plans for the future, who do not feel assured that their industrious exertions, while fair and honourable, will be allowed to have free scope, and that the property they either possess or may acquire, will be secured to them by a known code of laws impartially administered; but it has been found by experience, that civil liberty cannot be secured without political liberty, consequently political liberty becomes almost equally essential; and in addition to its being necessary in this point of view, its obvious tendency to teach the lower classes of society to respect themselves, by obliging the higher classes to respect them, must

contribute greatly to aid all the good effects of civil liberty."

It is in the next place observed in Lord Howden's letter:—"If idleness is allowed to prevail," &c. On this I shall only remark, that it is an utter impossibility, that, under the present system of colonial legislation, this class of men should be otherwise than idle, since they are but just emerging from the indolent habits of a nomade life, with a taste still to be formed for the decencies of life. Yet we have no reason to fear the most impartial scrutiny, nor to shrink from a comparison of the Hottentots at the Missionary Institutions, with those among the Boors. Let the Hottentots of Uitenhage be compared with those of Graaff-Reinet and Somerset. The contrast between them is so great, that an officer of the Cape regiment lately apologized for taking a greater proportion of Hottentots from Bethelsdorp than the numbers belonging to the institution justified, by affirming that they were a different class of beings—that the Bethelsdorp Hottentots became excellent soldiers with very little training, while they could scarcely make anything of those they got from Graaff-Reinet and Somerset. There is certainly, beyond comparison, more industry among the Hottentots at our institutions, than among those with the farmers. The missionaries have proofs of this every day, in the difficulties they find in getting such as may have been mostly among the farmers to labour at the institutions. This difference of character is easily accounted for. The Hottentots at the institutions, notwithstanding their oppressed condition, have stimulants to exertion which the Hottentots with the Boors do not possess; for what have the Hottentots of the colony, not attached to the

institutions, to look to? What motives can they have to industry? For instance, can they acquire property?—it is impossible! Robbed of their country, they are even incapacitated from holding land in it; the only property they are known even in appearance to possess, is cattle, and for this they have no security, because they have no option allowed but that of changing a master. On the other hand, the Hottentots attached to the institutions have some motives to industry; they have some security, that they shall enjoy the property they may acquire, and, therefore, they are more industrious. But in the degree that they are deprived of full security of property and civil liberty, it may be confidently asserted that the Hottentots will remain less industrious and less serviceable to the community; and it is evident that no exertion of the missionaries, by instruction or example, can ever overcome, though they may slightly check, that effect which the disabilities, under which even the Hottentots at our institutions are still placed, have in generating habits of indolence and improvidence.

In proceeding to examine further Lord Howden's remarks, we meet this statement of the views of government:—"It would seem very injudicious to allot any considerable portion of land to those institutions, that would render them independent of connections with their neighbours, and allow them to look upon all around them with indifference;" and it is then subsequently added, that "by the practice of 'trades and handicrafts,' they would acquire money, and have the means to purchase not only subsistence, but the decent comforts of life." The former and latter part of these statements of the views of government, appear to me in

direct opposition. First of all, it is stated, that land is not to be allotted to the Hottentots, but still they are to be encouraged to engage in trades and handicrafts. Now it is well known that the only property a Hottentot, on first joining an institution, can value, or even desire, is cattle, and that, of course, he can only have by possessing land; if the government, therefore, deem it injudicious to allot any land to Hottentots, excepting for the support of the more aged and infirm, how is a missionary to excite that Hottentot to exertion? To give him instruction in a trade is, in a great degree, hopeless, for what is the motive that would urge him to industry in this trade, even if the influence of the missionary should induce him to acquire it? It can be, of course, the possession of property only; and he cannot have, at first, any views or ideas of property, except as connected with cattle, or land and water, by which he might support them. In taking away, therefore, this spring of action, this grand motive to industry, the acquisition of landed property and cattle, we may trace the almost insuperable difficulties, which the missionaries have experienced in their exertions to overcome, in an extensive degree, the indolent habits of the people; and hence it is that the government have themselves defeated their intention, of discouraging idleness, of inducing the Hottentots to practise handicrafts and trades, and of rearing a supply of labourers.

The recent spring of industry imparted to the Hottentots at our missionary institutions within the colony, furnishes no objection to this argument. When it is recollected that their exertions were greatly stimulated by the hope imparted to them, that they would do away with the objections of their enemies to an amelioration

of their condition, and render the British government propitious to their claims, the improvements which have been described give additional force to the reasons we have employed on this part of our subject. It has been successfully shown by all the experiments which have been made in South Africa, that the Hottentots are as capable of being excited to industry as any other class of people, when they have the prospect of procuring, by the fruits of their labour, the objects of desire ; and the more nearly these objects are placed within their reach, the more we elevate their characters, increase their value to the government, and facilitate the improvement of the colony.

Lest it should be alleged that the colonial government is dealt unfairly with in giving the sentiments of an individual, however distinguished, as an illustration of the nature of the colonial system, we subjoin the following letter from Earl Bathurst to his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset. The occasion of this letter has been already explained in the Theopolis case. (See page 270.)

" *Downing Street, London, Oct.* 12, 1825.

" My Lord,

" I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's dispatch of the 12th of July last, inclosing a communication from the landdrost of Albany, in which it is suggested that a strip of land situated between the missionary establishment at Theopolis and the late Lieut.-Colonel Fraser's estate, might be given to that institution ; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that, if the missionaries should be willing to accept a grant of the land in question, upon the condition

of not further extending their possessions, by purchase or otherwise, without the leave of your Excellency's government, I shall be prepared to sanction the grant of this land to them.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your Excellency's most obedient,
"humble servant,
(*Signed*) "BATHURST."

In this letter we have the origin of our colonial policy. The most ignorant and selfish of the boors represent to the landdrost that it would not be good for the colony that the Hottentots should be allowed to purchase land; the landdrost adopts their sentiments, and transmits them to the governor; the governor presents them to his Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies; his Majesty's Principal Secretary for the Colonies supposes, as the recommendation comes from the landdrost, and is approved by the governor, it must be deserving of the sanction of his Majesty's government; and thus it becomes a part of the colonial policy. It is melancholy to observe how superior minds in this manner become the dupes of the most vulgar prejudices.

We talk much, in the present day, of the light which philosophy has thrown upon all subjects connected with the progress of civil society and government; but, surely, things might have gone on in this way if Adam Smith, Fergusson, Malthus, Ricardo, &c., had never blotted paper. How foreign the partiality of this policy to the principles of the British constitution; and, further, how impolitic! What can a degraded race of

labourers be but worthless members of the community? How total a forgetfulness is here evinced of, probably, the best known truth respecting society,—that the strength, the welfare of a country is mainly dependent on the character and habits of its labouring classes!

Any fears arising from any sudden change of property which may be hurtful to the interests of the colony, from adopting the measures recommended in the preceding chapter, are without the slightest foundation. No sudden alteration in the landed property of the country is to be apprehended from this source. Under the most favourable circumstances the great body of the Hottentots cannot be in any other condition than that of labourers for centuries to come. Individuals among the Hottentots, under a more genial system, may, in thirty or forty years, rise to possess little farms, and they may be able to leave the property acquired by their industry to their children: but no one acquainted with the state of property in Europe can for a moment imagine, that any fears of this nature should paralyse the hand of government, so as to make it withhold from the Hottentots their natural rights. It would be sufficiently ridiculous for any one to propose to the British Parliament that it should pass an act disqualifying the weavers of Manchester or Glasgow from holding land, lest they should dispossess the present landed proprietors and the nobility, and engross to themselves the wealth and honours of the country. In free countries you may see individuals rising from humble conditions to possess property; and you may find among our nobility individuals whose great-grandfathers were mechanics: but such instances are extremely rare;

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

and it will be allowed that England owes much of its industry and its glory as a country to the laws which secure the poor against the oppressions of the rich, and which leave the immunities and honours of the state open to fair and honourable competition.

CHAPTER XIX.

Appeal to the British Government, claiming for the Aborigines of South Africa, liberal Institutions, and just Laws.—Evil effects of uncontrolled Power on the character of those invested with it.—Advantages resulting to a country from an impartial Administration of Justice.—New Courts of Justice at the Cape.—Their defects as regards the Aborigines.—Advantages which would result to the Colonists generally from the elevation of the Hottentot race.—Remarks of the Commissioners of Inquiry on the Condition of the Coloured Population.—The British Government more deeply implicated than the Dutch in the oppression of the Natives of South Africa.—Liberal views of Governor Janssens in regard to the Hottentots.—The Hottentots acknowledged by the British Government and by the Colonial Authorities to be " a free people."—Appeal to British Justice and Humanity in their behalf.

If the British government would contribute effectually to the prosperity of South Africa, let them at last do justice to the aborigines of the country, by imparting to them liberal institutions, and just and equal laws.

Bad laws generate bad morals, and good laws generate good morals, on the same principle that every plant produces its own species; and there is no greater obstruction to the improvement of a people, than bad laws in the hands of men who only think of employing them to enrich themselves at the expense of those whom they oppress.

Whilst the laws, the institutions, and customs of a country are the best indices to its genius and character, by

the permanent influence which they exercise over both, we are justified in regarding them as the great arbiters of its morals and destiny. While equitable laws and their impartial administration elevate the standard of morals, raise the tone of thinking, exalt the character of a country, and increase the patriotism of a people, they generate the principles and love of justice in the heart of a great and effective part of the population. Could we analyze the human mind, and resolve it into its component parts, we might find the decisions of our courts of justice at home occupying no inconsiderable place among the elements forming our national character. It is absurd to talk of patriotism in a country where men are slaves, or to expect truth and equity among the generality of a people, if they are not embodied in the institutions of a country, and in the character and decisions of its judges.

Agriculture and commerce can never flourish, unless private property is respected, and the laws which guard the possessions of individuals are the first principles of industry.

Where all the avenues to preferment are closed, where there is no prize to ambition, and the mind is without wholesome stimulants, there can be no energy in the national character. Different degrees of rank and office are necessary in all well-constituted societies; but laws, which are made for favouring one part of the community, and depressing another, give rise to, and increase those moral obliquities which destroy the proportion and mar the face of society. Those invidious distinctions, by which one class of men are enabled to trample upon another, give rise to pride, arrogance, and an oppressive spirit in the privileged order,

while they repress every thing noble and praiseworthy in the oppressed. Where the privileged class is but a fractional part of the community, the evil is partial in its operation ; but when that class includes all the proprietors of the soil, the farmers, and the merchants, society is divided into two classes exhibiting all the modifications of vice arising out of that unnatural condition.

The secluded condition of the greater part of the South African farmers, the power thrown into their hands by the weakness of government, their situation in the midst of a population of slaves and Hottentots over whom they can tyrannize without control, is as unfavourable to the civilization of the farmers themselves, as it is to the happiness and improvement of those under them.

The establishment of law, forms an important era in the civilization of a people, and the statute which prevents the superior from oppressing or tyrannizing over his domestic, is as favourable to the humanity of the one, as it is to the happiness of the other.

While it is now universally admitted that it is the natural tendency of the exercise of uncontrolled authority to harden the heart, extinguish the moral sense, and give birth to every species of crimes and calamities, it is evident that the wealthy part of the community are elevated on the scale of being by the effective legislative enactments by which the poor are protected from oppression. The barbarizing effects of uncontrolled authority on minds in least danger of being corrupted by its influence, may be seen in every page of the history of human nature, and is well illustrated in the invaluable tract of Bishop Porteus on the effects of Christianity on the temporal concerns of mankind. After

having portrayed with glowing indignation, the horrid condition of those in a state of servitude among the polished and civilized Greeks and Romans, we find the following judicious remark:

"These are the effects which the possession of unlimited power over our species has actually produced, and which (unless counteracted and subdued by religious principle) it has always a natural tendency to produce, even in the most benevolent and best cultivated minds. When such is the general effect, what must it be in a colony where the lower order of people are considered as inferior beings?"

It has been justly remarked, that the noblest, the most elevated distinction of a country, is a fair administration of justice. Nothing can be done to improve and to elevate a people, if the administration of justice is corrupt; but to insure a pure administration of justice in a country, it must be accessible to all classes of the community. In a state of society where there is one law for the rich and another for the poor, and the sanctions of the law are borrowed to render the poor the victims of oppression, moral distinctions are confounded, and the names of virtue and vice come to be regarded as exchangeable terms *.

* The following anecdote may be adduced as an illustration of the state of the aborigines in South Africa. Conversing one day on the state of the Hottentots, with Sir John Truter, the late chief-justice of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir John exclaimed, "Well, Dr. Philip, I am now sitting on the chair in which I have been first made acquainted with the state of the Hottentots."

This observation was repeated in the hearing of Mr. Pringle, now secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, who happened accidentally to enter the room at the moment at which it was first made. It must be obvious that, if the Hottentots had had any recognized rights, their

Sully, in his Memoirs, after having described the corruption and profligacy of public men in France, at the time at which he was placed at the head of the finances; and after having described his success in bringing delinquents to justice, remarks, "Mankind now began to give all those strokes of art the name that they deserved; and those unlawful gains, which so long had impoverished France and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated without ceremony as robbery and rapine; and honesty began to show her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before*."

The slave-trade was unpopular with many people in England before the legislature declared it to be piracy; but no intelligent person will venture to affirm, that this public tribute to justice and humanity did not increase the national abhorrence against the detestable traffic thus stigmatized. The public are so accustomed to form their estimate of a crime by its success, or punishment, that they seldom view it through any other medium.

I am happy to hear of the new court of justice which has been given to the Cape colony. I expect much from the independence of the judges; but, however equitable the sentences of the judges may be, if the protection of the law is not extended to the coloured population their decisions can never impress upon the public mind the immutable distinctions between right and wrong.

While the administration of justice is confined to one

actual condition could not have been unknown to a person who had, for many years successively, filled the first offices under the government of the Cape of Good Hope, and who had long been regarded as the first law authority of the colony.

* Sully's Memoirs, vol. iv., page 106.

particular class of the community only, however that administration may be regarded for its equity, it is nothing better than the equity of a party of Bedouin Arabs, who make an equal distribution of the spoil they have taken from the unprotected caravan; or the honour of highwaymen, who deal justly by each other, while they combine to rob every defenceless traveller. The legislative enactment which breaks the chains of the oppressed aborigines, and raises the standard of morals in the colony, will prove the most effectual measure which can be adopted to improve all classes of the community.

If the existing invidious distinctions, which place the natives in their present degraded state, were removed, the spring of industry which would be imparted, by this means, to the Hottentot nation, would soon be felt as a powerful stimulus to exertion among all classes of the people and in every part of the colony. While the farmers would be able to do the same quantity of work with half the number of hands they now keep about them, the example of those Hottentots, who might be rising to wealth and independence, would provoke to emulation the most indolent of the boors. While the boors of this colony are surrounded with so much idleness and wretchedness, any attempt to elevate them will prove ineffectual; and the plan recommended, is the only one by which this idleness can be cured, and this scene of wretchedness removed. The different members of a state have been beautifully represented by the members of the human body: it may be truly said, if one member suffers, all the members of the body suffer; and, if one member is diseased, all the body is affected by its sympathy with this particular member.

In allusion to this figure, the Hottentots may be called the feet; but I may be allowed to ask the question,—if the feet are in a state of mortification, what becomes of the health of the body? Can the sons of a farmer be industrious—can his daughters be uncontaminated—can his house be clean, or can it be any thing but filthy—and can the state of his family be any thing but disgusting, while he continues surrounded with a naked, filthy, and degraded race of human beings? The filth and indolence of the Hottentots have become proverbial; but these, like the other vices of which they have been accused, arise out of their situation. When a people are oppressed, and miserably poor, they are invariably a degraded people; and indolence and filth are the inseparable attendants of dejection.

The Hottentots, generally speaking, have no motives to industry: the lawful fruits of their labour are not secured to them; they are robbed, and cheated, and oppressed, in every possible way; and the filthiness of their huts and persons are no more than the natural consequences arising from the state of mental depression in which they are held. Cheerfulness and cleanliness are much more nearly allied than is generally imagined; and the Hottentots at our institutions, who have acquired some property, and have been enabled to build for themselves good houses, are quite as cleanly in their persons and in their houses as the colonists in general. While the elevation of the Hottentots to their just rights would be of the most essential service to the families of the farmers in general, it would have the most beneficial effects upon the industry and resources of the colony at large. By the elevation of the labouring classes, respect is conferred upon labour: it is stripped of the degrading

associations connected with it while performed by slaves only; and such a change in the sentiments of the colonists must be followed by the happiest effects on their industry. When the Hottentots are raised to the rank of free men, in lieu of lazy superintendents, engaged in active exertions for a few days at the seasons of sowing and reaping, or in hunting excursions, the colonists and their families, like their industrious ancestors, will shortly be converted into useful farmers. The general course of daily occupation throughout the colony—of bawling out to a few wretched Hottentots to do all they require, which is so often noticed to the disgrace of the colonists, will gradually be exchanged for those habits by which the several members of the colonial farmers' families will be industriously employed in all the labours of the farm.

I have, in a former passage, shown, that the oppressions of the Hottentots have been greatly increased, in consequence of the abolition of the foreign slave-trade; and it is evident, from the rapid increase of the colonial population, and the natural result of that increase, an increasing demand for labourers, that the condition of that unfortunate people must every day get worse, unless their chains are speedily and entirely broken, and they are put in possession of the blessings of freedom as well as the name. While the present system continues, it is in vain to hope for any improvement in the character of the Hottentots, in the morals of the boors, or in the social habits of their families. The peculiar vices of all ranks of the inhabitants are the vices of the system; and, though they may survive it, they cannot be expected to die before it.

In corroboration of the statements given in the pre-

ceding pages of this volume in relation to the oppressed state of the natives, and of my reasonings on the impolicy of retaining them in their present condition, I am happy to avail myself of the following extracts from the Report of his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry.

"In the case of the coloured classes, whether Hottentots or negroes, we regret to observe that the rate of their remuneration has been generally very inadequate throughout the colony.

"The prize negroes indentured for fourteen years may, in general, be considered to be as great a source of profit to their masters as slaves, and the undue advantage that has been confirmed to the masters by law of claiming the gratuitous services of the children of prize negresses, from the age of five to eighteen years, has tended, in many instances, to perpetuate the advantages that have been derived from the servitude of this class. It has been customary with many persons holding indentures to hire out the labour of prize negresses in the same manner as that of the slaves.

"The Hottentots contracted in the service of the boors are chiefly resident in the eastern province. They are usually engaged upon very low wages, and retained in a condition very unfavourable to their improvement. From weakness of constitution they are rarely fit for the labours of agriculture; but their knowledge of the country, and their pastoral habits, render them extremely useful to the boors in the capacity of herdsmen; and the same observation is applicable to Bosjesmen, who are in the service of the boors in the frontier districts.

"The mixed race, who are the offspring of the colonists by Hottentot mothers, labour under the same

disadvantages, which have led to settlements being formed by them beyond the confines of the colony and the influence of the boors.

"In considering the advantages derived from the gratuitous services of prize negroes, and those that equally result to the grazier from the employment of Hottentots and of other native classes, without trouble to themselves or adequate remuneration to their servants, we think that, in both cases, the servant-tax of ten shillings may be equitably imposed; and if a greater degree of protection should be given to the interests of those classes, and should lead to their acquirement of a higher reward for their services until enabled to form establishments for themselves, the tax, as in the case of European servants, would naturally constitute a deduction from the higher rate of wages which are readily to be obtained where a free competition is encouraged. The indolence of the Dutch farmers, induced by the employment of slaves in the more cultivated portions of the colony, and the facility with which they obtain Hottentots in the grazing districts, have proved a great obstacle to the improvement of the colony; and, as the influx of European settlers has of late years afforded some examples to the colonists of more industrious habits, it may tend further to call forth the industry of the boors to impose a tax on hired servants. The ordinary labours of agriculture may thus, in time, be performed by their own families, which are often numerous, and a valuable accession would thus be gained to the productive classes throughout the colony, while the farmer would relieve himself from the operation of a tax on a class of servants who would still be available to him on extraordinary occasions.

"The law which has compelled the Hottentots to enter into service, and has bestowed to the employer a right to the services of their children from eight to eighteen years of age, if born on their estates, has tended to retard the improvement of the Hottentots, and the benefits to be derived to the colony at large, and to those districts in particular in which they are settled in communities. Their services in harvest-time have thus been found more valuable to the neighbouring farmers than when whole families subsist throughout the year as indigent retainers.

"The transmission of mails has been accelerated by the attention that has been paid to this object by the British administrations, and by the increased remuneration that has been made to the post-holders on the eastern road; but the arrangement is very defective, both as it is removed from the direct control of the post-master-general in Cape Town, and as the persons employed to carry the mails (who are generally Hottentots) are very inadequately paid and provided by the boors, being frequently contracted to them for the performance of this very laborious duty for wages that, in some instances, have not exceeded two rix-dollars, or three shillings per month, and are compelled to ride with the mails, in all seasons and at all hours, with very little clothing. It has also been customary with some of the landdrosts to consider this employment of post-riders as a public duty, which the Hottentots of the missionary institutions have been bound to render, and for the performance of which they have been required to relinquish other and more profitable employment. In some instances they have been required to perform this service gratuitously."

It is admitted by His Majesty's Commissioners, in

the above extract from their Reports, that the coloured classes throughout the colony, including the Hottentots, the prize negroes, the Caffers, the Bechuanas, and the Bushmen, have not an adequate remuneration for their labour; that the low wages on which they are retained is a great source of profit to their employers; that, at the missionary institutions, Hottentots have been compelled to serve as post-riders, for which they have received inadequate, and sometimes no, wages at all; and that, to perform these services, they have been required to relinquish more profitable employments; that the law which compels the Hottentots, or other coloured people, to enter into service, has bestowed to the employer a right to the services of the children, from eight to eighteen years of age, if born on their estates; and they add, in respect to this state of things, that it has tended to retard the improvement of the Hottentots, and the benefit to be derived to the colony at large, and to those districts, in particular, in which they are settled in communities. It will be remarked, that the concessions made in these extracts are all confirmatory of my statements, and that they are all favourable to the arguments now employed in favour of this class of people.

As an apology for the Commissioners, for not having entered more into detail on this subject, it is but fair to state, that the extracts in question are taken from the Reports on the administration of the government and the finances of the colony; and appear as if they had been introduced in an incidental way only in connection with these subjects. The government at home has not yet thought fit to publish their full Reports on the coloured population. On the reasons his Majesty's government may have for the backwardness shown in

this instance, I shall not now speculate; but it is to be hoped, that the Reports of the Commissioners on those subjects will still be forthcoming, and that they will be given to the public as they came from the hands of the Commissioners.

In the absence of those Reports, which have been so long expected from the Colonial office, and which are still kept back, we shall avail ourselves of the facts put into our hands by this document, in the prosecution of the object of our present labours. The profitable and unjust monopoly of the labours of the natives, the compulsory service to which they are liable, and the cruel and desecrating regulations which give their employer a power over their offspring, are here admitted. The law which has *compelled* the Hottentot to enter into service, and has *bestowed* on the employer a right to the services of the children, &c., is here recognized; and these admissions are accompanied with the following important concession,—That these compulsory laws have tended to retard the improvement of the Hottentots, and the benefits to be derived to the colony at large, and to those districts, in particular, in which they are settled in communities. In the same extracts we meet with similar sentiments expressed in another form.

The indolence of the Dutch farmers, induced by the employment of slaves, and the facility with which they obtain (or, properly speaking, compel) the services of the Hottentots in the grazing districts, have proved a great obstacle to the improvement of the colony. From the great profit which colonists derive from the labour of Hottentots and prize negroes, the Commissioners propose that a *servant-tax* should be imposed on each of

them, to be paid by their employers. As the concessions in the above extracts, describing the condition of the coloured population, appear to have been introduced for the purpose of showing the equity of the proposed tax, we have no right to suppose that this is the only remedy the Commissioners have proposed to his Majesty's government, (although it is the only one hinted at in this place,) or that they proposed anything more in it than a temporary advantage to the government, till such time as some legislative enactment should be promulgated to release them from their cruel sufferings. His Majesty's Commissioners could never for a moment suppose that the British government would sanction such a cruel monopoly of the services of the natives of South Africa, that they might increase the colonial revenue by a tax of ten shillings, levied upon the masters, to allow them to compel Hottentots and prize negroes, &c. to serve them on their own terms.

While I acquit the Commissioners of ever having entertained such an opinion, I confess I am not a little surprised at the doubt expressed by them in the following clause of the sentence on which we are now commenting:—"If a greater degree of protection should be given to the interests of those classes," &c. Could they, for a moment, be in doubt, whether the government at home would feel the slightest hesitation in promptly relieving the natives of South Africa from their cruel and unmerited oppressions? To suppose such a thing possible would be to suppose the government at home in a much lower state of degeneracy than the most selfish of the colonists.

Though the colonists have powerful motives for the continuance of this system, I have never met one of

them who attempted to defend it, and few of them who have not acknowledged its injustice and cruelty; but to suppose that the English government would permit such a system, when brought under their notice, would not only be to suppose that our statesmen could be wicked without motive, but, also, that they would be guilty of the egregious folly of extending their protection to a system which had been proved, on the showing of the Commissioners of Inquiry, to be inimical to the best interests of the colony. Have not the Commissioners, in two passages of these short extracts, given it as their decided opinion, that the low rate of wages allowed to the natives, the compulsory services to which they are liable, and the manner in which the great ties of nature, between the natives and their children, are dissolved by the strong hand of the law, have retarded not only the improvement of the natives themselves, but also the improvement of the colony?

Although the weakness of the Dutch government might compel it to wink at the manner in which the Hottentots were oppressed by the colonists, that government was not so deeply implicated in the oppressions of that people as the English government has been. Under the old government, a feeble protection was afforded to the oppressed; but, the oppressions at which the Dutch government connived have, under the English government, obtained the sanction of law; and that power, under which the Hottentots, at one time, had reason to expect a greater degree of liberty, has only added to the number and weight of their chains. On this subject I am happy to avail myself of the following extracts from the Reports of his Majesty's Commissioners:—" Upon the first surrender of the colony

to his Majesty's arms, in the year 1795, the powers of the government that had been exercised by the governor and council were vested in the British governors alone; and although the general policy, by which the measures of the Dutch East India Company had been regulated, underwent an immediate and very beneficial change, yet the same forms of administration were continued until the colony was given up in the year 1803, to the government of the Batavian republic, in pursuance of the treaty of Amiens. In the month of March that year, a commissioner from the Batavian republic arrived in the colony, with full power to accept the transfer of it from the English authorities. In a proclamation dated 1st March, 1803, it was declared by him, 'That thenceforth the colony of the Cape of Good 'Hope was no longer to be dependent upon the go'vernment at Batavia, or upon any commercial body 'whatever, but that the inhabitants were to know no 'other government than that which the Batavian peo'ple had chosen for themselves.'"

"The commissioner appears to have been invested with power of making new laws and regulations for the administration and government of the colony, which were published from time to time, and have acquired the force of law, although they were not recognized by the government of the Batavian republic, who, it seems, had reserved to themselves the right of rejecting the regulations, and embodying such as they approved into a charter or constitution of government.

"Sufficient time had not elapsed before the capture of the colony in the year 1806, for the preparation of such an act, or its promulgation in the colony; but the regulations that were framed and published by the

commissioner during his residence in it, and provisionally enforced by Governor Janssens, and the council exercising the executive powers of the government, embraced the several departments, and especially those for the collection and receipt of revenue; the administration of justice; the duties of the fiscal, then designated by the name of 'procureur-general,' or 'attorney-general;' the ecclesiastical functions and municipal institutions in Cape Town, and in the districts. Although no positive enactment was made public respecting the question of slavery, and the condition and treatment of slaves, Hottentots, and people of colour, yet certain declarations and opinions of the principal members of the government were recorded, from which it is only just to infer that the most liberal views and intentions were entertained towards them, and that they would have been carried into effect whenever the government felt itself strong enough to assert them with success."

Previous to the surrender of the Cape to the English, the Hottentots had been cruelly treated by the boors; but by the government which then existed, they had always been recognized as a free people in its proclamations; and in as far as that government itself was concerned they were, in many instances, treated as such.

In a proclamation of General Janssens, of 1803, having enlarged upon the demoralizing effect of the manners of the slaves upon the minds of the youth in the families of the colonists, he strongly urges them to substitute, in their families, to have charge of their children, in the place of slaves, *free* hired Hottentots.

In the same year, 1803, we have one decisive fact, in a proclamation of General Janssens, which furnishes a contrast between the Dutch and English governments, not much to the honour of our own country. In that year a disease had become prevalent in Cape Town, which required the interference and aid of government. That the public might sustain as little loss as possible, a plan was proposed to assess the parties, and to make them refund to the colonial treasury the money which had been expended in the means employed for their restoration to health. The Europeans were called upon to pay the expenses of their own cure; the masters of the slaves had to pay for their cure; and the government bore the expense of the cure of the Hottentots. This last measure was determined upon for this reason, that there was no method of compelling the Hottentots to pay the expenses of their own cure, but by disposing of them as servants, a scheme which, it is stated, was liable to many abuses, and contrary to the then acknowledged freedom of the Hottentot people. Contrary to the plan which is now acted upon by the British government, which consigns every Hottentot to prison who is without a pass, and keeps him there till a master comes and pays the expenses charged for his maintenance, prison-fees, and other items, &c., the governor, having discharged the claims of the Hottentots on this occasion, ordered them to be conducted across the Salt River, to pursue their journies to their respective tribes in the interior.

The following extract from the instructions to the landdrost of the Cape district, in 1809, shows the views of the British government at that period on this subject:—

"The original natives of this country, the Hottentots, must be considered and treated as a free people, who have a lawful abode in the colony, and their persons and property, and possessions ought, for that reason, to be protected, the same as those of other free people."

In a pamphlet, published a few years ago, under the sanction of the British government, entitled, *The State of the Nation,* it is stated that "the labour of the district of Uitenhage is carried on by *free* hired Hottentots."

It being proposed to his Excellency Sir Rufane Donkin, in 1820, at a public meeting of the English settlers lately arrived in South Africa, that the Hottentots at Theopolis should be compelled to make roads in the new district of Albany for their convenience, the acting governor declared publicly that the Hottentots were a "free people;" and that the government had no more right to compel them to work for the settlers than it had to compel the settlers to work for the Hottentots.

When Colonel Bird, the colonial secretary, was at Uitenhage, on his last journey into the interior of the colony, the wife of a Dutch boor presented a complaint to him against Mr. Schmit, the Moravian missionary at Enon, charging him with having refused to compel a Hottentot to hire himself to her. The complaint was preferred in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Hallbeck, the superintendent of the Moravian missions in South Africa; and, in answer to that complaint, the colonial secretary declared, in the presence of the above-named gentleman and others, that the authorities of the country had no more right to compel the Hottentots to labour for the farmers, than they had to compel the farmers to serve the Hottentots.

We have it, then, admitted by the proclamations of the colonial government, by the pamphlet to which we have referred, published under the sanction of the British government, and by the first authorities of the colony, that the Hottentots are *a free people;* that any thing in the shape of compulsory service is a violent usurpation of their justly recognized rights; and that they had a right to expect that they should be considered and treated as a free people, and that their *persons, property,* and *possessions* should be protected the *same* as other free people. It is now obvious that, in pleading the cause of the Hottentots, we do not stand upon theoretical grounds merely; we stand upon the basis of their acknowledged civil rights; and it is now for the British government to declare to the world whether those rights are to be realized to them, or whether, in direct opposition to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, that oppressed people are to be retained in the state of cruel bondage to which they have been unjustly, inhumanly, and impoliticly reduced. Britain may yet redeem her character; but if the claims of the natives of South Africa are not heard, her treatment of that people will be one of the foulest blots upon her national honour that ever stained the escutcheon of the most degenerate of nations.

The Hottentots, despairing of help from every other quarter, now look to the justice and humanity of England for deliverance; and they now justly and humbly ask, why they may not, like the colonists, be allowed to bring their labours to the best market? Why they should be compelled to labour for two or for four rix-dollars (equivalent to three or six shillings sterling money) per month,

when they might be receiving twenty or twenty-five rix-dollars per month, if permitted to dispose of themselves as a free people? Why they may not be exempted from the cruelties exercised upon them without any form of law? Why they should be arbitrarily flogged in the public prison, upon the mere *ipse dixit* of their masters? Why, on complaining of bad usage to a magistrate, they should be put in prison till their master appear to answer the accusation brought against him;—and why they should be flogged if their complaints are held to be frivolous? Why they should be liable to punishment at the mere caprice of a magistrate, and without any trial? Why they should be made responsible for the loss of their master's property, and thereby kept in perpetual bondage, without ever receiving any wages? Why they should be treated as vagabonds, and be liable to be disposed of at the pleasure of any local functionary in whose district they may reside, if they do not hire themselves to a master? Why they should be given to any master, by such an authority, without ever having been consulted on the subject? Why they should be liable to have their homes violated, their children torn from them, and from the arms of their distracted mothers, without having the smallest chance of redress? Why they should be denied, by the justice and humanity of Britain, the boon prepared for them by the Batavian government, when the Cape of Good Hope fell into the hands of the English? And why these intolerable oppressions should continue to be imposed upon them, in direct violation of the proclamation of the colonial government, declaring, that the original natives of the country, the Hottentots, must be considered and treated as a free people, who have a lawful

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abode in the colony; and whose persons, property, and possessions ought, for that reason, to be protected, the same as other free people? *

The interest of the colony cannot require that such a system of cruel oppression should be continued; and it is impossible that the justice, the humanity, and the magnanimity of the British government can suffer longer that evils so enormous should exist in any of its foreign dependencies. Let justice be done to the Hottentots; let them be exempted from the oppression of the local authorities of the country; let them be at liberty to bring the produce of their labour to the best market; let them have all the genial stimulus arising from the elevated cares of a family; let them feel all those powerful energies which arise from seeing the

* The manly letter of Dr. Vanderkemp to Governor Janssens (see Appendix, No. XV.) shows how such oppressions prevailed, and in what terms they were denounced, in his time: the note of my esteemed friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Campbell, (see Appendix, No. XVII.) gives his important testimony to their continuance at the period of his travels in South Africa; and full and unanswerable evidence of their existence down to the present time will be found in the *Theopolis and Bethelsdorp Correspondence*, and in the articles numbered XII., XIII., and XIV. of Appendix.

In addition to the respectable testimonies already adduced in regard to the existence of such abuses, and in favour of our missionary institutions, I may here mention that of my esteemed friend H. E. Rutherfoord, Esq., merchant in Cape Town, who had ample opportunity, during his various journeys into the interior, of forming a correct estimate of their true character and effects. Mr. Rutherfoord's opinion on the subject was boldly and decidedly expressed in a Cape journal, (*South African Commercial Advertiser, March* 17, 1824), at a period when it was almost opprobrious in the colony to avow such sentiments; but, such was the power of truth, and the pure character of its advocate on this occasion, that malice itself was silenced, and calumny for a period was dumb.

support,—the lives of their children dependent upon their labour; let the churches of the colonists be thrown open for their devotional exercises; let the ministers of the colony be enjoined to recognise them as a part of their charge; and let not this interfere with the self-denied labours of those who are willing to impart to them the first elements of instruction;—and, when those invidious distinctions which mar all fellowship but that which arises from a partnership in guilt are done away, the loathsome appearances which now deform the face of our African Society, and which indicate a rottenness deeply seated at the core, may be expected, under the impartial administration of equal laws, the fostering wing of the British constitution, and the purifying influence of Christian instruction and evangelical ministrations, gradually to pass away along with them.

To use the eloquent language of Mr. Wilberforce,—"Africa will then become the seat of civilization, because the seat of liberty—the seat of commerce, because the seat of liberty—the seat of science, because the seat of liberty—the seat of religion, because the seat of liberty—the seat of morals, because the seat of liberty—the seat of happiness, because the seat of liberty!"

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.